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LAST ISSUE

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-96-168
Monday
26 August 1996

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Daily Report
East Europe

FBIS-EEU-96-166 *26 August 1996*

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Albania: Further on Berisha's 21 Aug News Conference

AU2408150996 Tirana ATA in English 1049 GMT 22 Aug 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tirana, August 21 (ATA)—Albanian President Sali Berisha today had a news conference with Albanian and foreign reporters. He said:

"The summer period we passed cannot be described as a period without activities. It was full of important activities. As you know, the government with its first decisions help promote the reform, it adopted some indispensable decisions regarding the removal of the state control on the prices. Serious preparations are being made towards the privatization of the banking system which marks a very important moment in the process of privatization.

"The parliament also ratified two of the most important conventions of the Council of Europe, the European Convention of Human Rights, and the Convention on Prevention of Torture and Maltreatments, it also approved some other laws and decrees.

"Serious preparations have been and are being made to have local elections of European standards. Involved in a serious dialogue about this process are the government, the parliament and the political forces. The political parties have had numerous meetings contributing to the election process. The opposition or the main opposition party to which you should be grateful because it provided a good stuff for your papers during August, was committed to a process of reformation at the beginning, but as you know, it ended in a division of clans within this political force.

"These were some of the points I wanted to speak about here but I am ready and open to answer any of your questions." Then followed question by reporters:

Reis Cico, Albanian Television: Mr. President, your decree on the Permanent Election Commission has been considered a challenge for the left wing parties. Is the president ready to make concessions regarding the claim of the socialists and their advocates? And in the context of the above question, what's the opinion of the president, will these forces take part in the local elections or will they boycott them?

Berisha: The decree has not been a challenge. If it were a challenge I would not leave the seats vacant for the socialists. You who follow political developments could see that the socialists too were present in the round table with the political parties that participated in the local government and which reached some joint conclusions. [Passage indistinct] the first round table I organized the second one, because we agreed to have a permanent commission since the first round table. We also agreed in the first negotiations to amend the law.

[Passage indistinct] Members of the commission would be those candidates. I fixed the last 15 days of the election campaign as the deadline for the presentation of the candidacies, therefore my decree is not a challenge for anyone.

The decree aims at installing in Albania a permanent election commission, which, in my opinion, is an indispensable institution. It is true that it has been suggested to us and I am glad to realise it because such institutions have proved to be successful in the countries with a 200-300 year democracy. We too shall have and consolidate it.

In regard to another question, President Berisha said that it seemed that "the opposition is considering the boycott [passage indistinct] faith of their electorate."

The latest Socialist Party [PS] conferences in the districts proved that not only the electorate but the members of PS have turned their backs to this party.

The reason is rather logical. It is the boycott in the counting of votes. Sirs, a ballot is a confidence, if you do not count the vote you spoil the confidence it gives to you. The vote is an understanding, if you do not count it you abuse with this understanding. The vote is hope and if you do not count it you hit such a hope. The vote is a contract, and if you do not count it you break the contract with the electorate. The vote is patriotism because it has perhaps the most advanced elements of human ideal and the left wing electorate did not vote only for the people (it also has cast the ballot for the people) but it has voted for the left ideals, which according to their convictions, are good to construct and translate into life the democracy in Albania.

What happened in the PS conferences in the districts? The boycott of the counting of votes has been denounced by these conferences as an irresponsible act. It was a great disloyalty. In these conditions, having lost their electorate as well a great number of members and also knowing that they cannot repeat another boycott of the counting of votes due to legal prerogatives installed, this group of leaders decided to undertake the second kind of boycott. Why is this road a mistake?

Let us consider the logic of Mr. Pellumbi in the conference of Kruje: "We must boycott the local elections in order that international community force Berisha to hold general elections."

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First, Albania is a sovereign country and the sovereignty shall have and consolidate it.

In regard to another question, President Berisha said that it seemed that "the opposition is considering the boycott."

Second, the commissioner Van Den Broek conveyed to political forces the clear message regarding the process of local elections. Hence, in this case too the logic is wrong.

Third, I don't think that the Bolshevik tradition of the lack of loyalty towards institutions has any future. This is proved both by the fact that they do not take part in round tables and the fact that they want to boycott the elections.

I consider it without a future also due to the fact that there are about 19 political parties which have presented their candidates for the election process, which is a proof of their determination to take part in elections. Albanians will have the chance in the local elections to elect more candidates than any other time in their history. You may say that these are small parties but this is the way how they will grow. In this way the garden of democracy will be added with other trees which will keep growing up, may be one or two may not develop well. It is a destination, isn't it an unavoidable fact? I don't know it, I cannot say this. But I can say that PS has voted for the left ideals, which according to their convictions, are good to construct and translate into life the democracy in Albania.

[Passage indistinct] elections simply because of a law which we are ready to amend and improve without any prejudice, a law according to which you claim to have the majority, which in fact you have not?

I do not accept this logic. The law is up to European standards and this was confirmed through joint declarations by 23 political forces but nevertheless, the law may be amended. Let us think and improve it. If you consider the dialogue a dictate you clearly prove that you are primitive in the democratic and political culture, because dialogue is not a dictate, it is a discussion, a compromise. They laid the problem before me whether the Law on Genocide will be amended or abrogated. The idea of amendment is generally supported, but it is natural that if you cannot reach the maximum you will be pleased with the optimal, sub-optimal, but if you are abided by prejudices and dictate you will remain the same. Therefore I want to stress that they have decided to be a dried tree in the garden of democracy because Albanians will vote. But local government officials have more direct interests than those in the central structures, because they are more related with daily activities. Hence, electors are forced to choose among 19 or 10 other candidates.

This is not normal. I regret when one political force compares itself with another political force whose chairman has not received even the votes from the families in his block of flats. I have respect for all the political forces but they are not and cannot be all the same.

Besnik Shaqiri (reporter): Does the President think that the program presented to the parliament by the government lacks things as compared with the objectives you have laid in the 3rd Assembly of the Democratic Party and if yes, which is your pronouncement?

Does the President think to consolidate the institute of withdrawal and discharge as elements which would help a lot in the consolidation of legislation and the fight against corruption and bargains?

Berisha: With regard to the government program I may say that it is not perfect but it is among the best that may have been presented in any country. It is an excellent program in the sense that it is focused on the main pillars of the privatization of the economy. It is committed to reduce the budgetary deficit, to create a greater space for foreign investments in Albania. That program responds to the high rates of development. Albania is a country with undeniable rates of development, it is poor but with rates which keep increasing. I will show you some data of this year which are very optimistic both in regard to investments the GDP increase and in other directions. But has the program of the government covered the whole DP program? No, not completely. But as you know, this program is re-examined. At first its main lines are realised and then, for a one or two year period it may be totally evaluated and meet completely the objectives of the [passage indistinct] be a political line, but naturally each will be responsible of and valued for the work he makes. There is a strong will to fight corruption. Many measures are being adopted to improve legal [passage indistinct]

Secondly, the establishment of the new government has coincided with some serious incidents which have brought about the death of some senior officials of the state. Do you think that the government and the state are capable to deal with the first steps of an organized crime which is perhaps approaching?

Thirdly, with regard to the allies, now after the May 26 sense that it is focused on the main pillars of the privatization of the economy. It is committed to reduce the budgetary deficit, to create a greater space for foreign investments in Albania, and remain one of

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the main pillars of the electoral program of Democratic Party and its government.

Differently from the left wing forces, we consider parts of the social state the ownership for the individual, his employment along with the assistance for those contingents which need this aid. In regard to another social aspect, I may say that the government has adopted important measures for the education and we are keeping our promise. Work will continue for the employment of people and for seasonal emigration. With regard to two neighbouring countries from which we have received promises, I express my satisfaction for Greece which has started to legalize Albanian emigrants. I express my conviction that the Italian Government along legalization will be committed to employing seasonal workers from Albania which will be a great help for us and for the economy of Albania.

It is true that the creation of the new government has coincided with tragic events. But due to a rapid reaction, in the three cases, the killers have been identified and are under serious investigation, the killers for two of the cases have been caught and serious efforts are being made to catch the killer of the third victim. I have faith in Minister Shamata and his team. There is determination to hit the ill-doers and to guarantee full security for the citizens, their life and activity.

There is no change in the allies of Democratic Party. The Democratic Party is completely a pro-Western force. There is nothing to shake Democratic Party, the government, the parliament, and Albania from its natural Western direction.

Albania: Nano Wants 4 PS Deputy Chairmen To Resign

AU2508192296 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 24 Aug 96

[Report by Marash Mirashi, including recorded interviews with Socialist Party Deputy Chairmen Servet Pellumbi, Ilir Meta, and Luan Hajdaraga following the PS congress session in Tirana on 24 August]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The second phase of the Socialist Party's [PS] second congress was declared open by PS Deputy Chairman Namik Dokle. Apart from the district delegates, others, such as representatives of political forces and the diplomatic corps, were invited to attend. As for foreigners, only Roberto (Quillo) from the Italian Left-Wing Democratic Party is honoring the congress of Albanian socialists.

Mr. Servet Pellumbi, first PS deputy chairman, read the report of the congress. The report gave an overview of the four-year work of the PS in its entire complexity, in accordance with the political situation created in the country and the PS vision for the future. The report stressed that the Albanian electorate has rendered great assistance to the PS. The report considered the negative response in the [November 1995] referendum [on approving the constitution draft] and the 26 May campaign as the climax of the party's successful activity. Once again, the PS congress report considered the failure in the 26 May elections as an electoral putsch by the Democratic Party, calling for new parliamentary elections.

The Socialist Party's foreign relations were at first difficult, but they are functioning now, the report stressed.

Another paragraph of the report spoke about the PS disassociation from the Enverist dictatorship, referring to the party stance since its creation in 1991.

The process of party renovation in all its structures was another topic dealt with in the report.

After Mr. Pellumbi's report discussions were held. Sabit Brokaj, read a speech by [imprisoned] PS Chairman Fatos Nano, which, for the problems put forward and its length in time, resembled to an alternative report with that of the congress, something which had been objected by the PS Presidency a long time ago.

Fatos Nano, too, hopes for the PS renovation and its final disassociation from Enver Hoxha and Marxist theories and calls for the PS to be a party with social democratic traits. He also condemned the 26 May elections. However, his speech reached its acme when he blamed the PS Presidency and particularly, the quartet of its deputy chairmen—demanding that they resign. According to Fatos Nano, the four PS deputy chairmen have been in sluggish defensive positions and without a political initiative, and their devotion has been calculated to individual interests. Nano stressed that communist-punitive unity has prevailed in the PS and particularly in the Presidency.

The demand for the resignation of the PS deputy chairmen was put down by Dokle, who said that this is not statutory.

However, how did the other leaders receive Nano's speech?

[Begin recording] [Pellumbi] No one is considered special in the congress. We are all the same. Everything will be decided by the delegates with their votes.

[Mirashi] Do you think that Nano's speech surpassed the boundaries of a simple discussion?

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[Pellumbi] We should get used to diverse thought, even in the congress. I see nothing bad in it.

[Meta] Only Mr. Nano has spoken, we have not spoken yet.

[Mirashi] Mr. Hajdaraga, what is your opinion about Nano's speech at the congress?

[Hajdaraga] I listened to it, it was a long discussion full of remarks and criticisms. Of course, the others have the right to rejoin regarding what was said in the discussion.

[Mirashi] Nano very vehemently criticized you today. How would you comment on this?

[Hajdaraga] Criticisms are criticisms, while the truth is a truth. I do not exclude that criticisms may be true.

[Mirashi] Do you think that a wide gap has been already created among the PS bosom between Chairman Nano and the mass of the party?

[Hajdaraga] I do not think so. The congress will discuss and analyze things and will reach the relevant conclusions. [end recording] Discussions about the congress report continued during the afternoon's session. In its discussion, PS Deputy Chairman Dokle expressed himself in favor of the PS Presidency and its work. Dokle considered as baseless Fatos Nano's criticisms addressed to the presidency. [passage omitted]

Musa Ulqini later took the floor. He compared the PS conference held in Tirana some days ago with the party conference in Tirana in 1956. Ulqini remarked that Nano has been misinformed about the conference and was led into a blind alley by various PS members, Bardhyl Islami, Gafur Mazreku, Merita Ndreko, and others took the floor as well.

In the meantime, discussions continue.

Albania: Pellumbi Accuses Nano of Seeking 'Absolute Power'

AU2508195296 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 25 Aug 96

[Report by Marash Mirashi]

[FBIS Translated Text] Today's proceedings of the Socialist Party [PS] congress started without the presence of reporters. Problems related to the statute and program became the pivot of hot-tempered discussions among the rivaling sides within the Socialist Party. From confidential sources within the congress, it was learned that this session, which was held behind closed doors, was largely characterized by fierce debate, antagonism, and cynicism. The source says that the proposal that 25 percent of the PS leaders should come from the ranks of euro-socialists was turned down. It was also learned that the post of the PS secretary general will be elected from the party's leading committee and that Servet Pellumbi rejoined with Nano's parallel report.

Pellumbi accused Nano of exercising dictate, noting that he is seeking absolute power in the PS and the right to veto as he does not trust the party forums. I have joined the party to be free and not a slave, Pellumbi stressed.

According to the confidential source, Pellumbi accused Kastriot Islami of using all ways and means to win the post of secretary general. Pellumbi alluded that it is Islami's clan that prepared Nano's report to the congress and not Nano himself.

After the closed-door session, the discussions continued in another session. Even in the presence of reporters, tension was evident in the hall. Ilir Meta harshly denounced Fatos Nano for the situation created within the PS ranks. He turned down the list submitted to the congress by Fatos Nano. A spirit of enmity against the euro-socialists has been created within the PS, Meta said. Meta also accused Nano of keeping a staff of private advisers on PS problems.

In its discussion, Pandeli Majko supported Fatos Nano's theses. Meanwhile, Shaqir Vukaj criticized Nano's lists submitted to the congress, as they contained many of those who were ministers in the time of [Former President Ramiz] Alia and Nano.

After the discussions, the session was declared over.

Albania: PS Vice Chairman Calls for 'Real Change' in Party

AU2608093196 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 25 Aug 96

[Interview with Socialist Party Deputy Chairman Ilir Meta by Marash Mirashi in Tirana following the PS congress session on 25 August]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Mirashi] Mr. Meta, your discussion today was very categorical, citing specific cases. At the same time, you denounced your party chairman, Fatos Nano, regarding several problems.

[Meta] I wanted to render a clear account before the Socialist Party [PS] congress about my activity, particularly relating to foreign affairs, over which there has been continuous speculation. I hope that this is clear to the congress now. I also spoke about other problems with sincerity, hoping that, in this way, the congress will have clear orientations so as not to end in the same way as it started. [passage omitted]

[Mirashi] After your speech, an impression was created that two powerful different currents exist in the PS now.

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[Meta] You have pointed out very few, only two... [laughs] whereas usually the papers would point out more...

[Mirashi] Always based on the delegates' words ... I suppose?

[Meta] In fact, during its proceedings, the congress did not converge to the direction that the PS would be interested in, that is for all to be united as far as the process of renovation was concerned. I think that the idea of a division has sprung up within this framework, which in fact exists in conception.

[Mirashi] Do you think that the PS renovation cannot be complete without denouncing the Ramizist [former President Ramiz Alia] inheritance?

[Meta] This is a kind of speculation, as I am not the first to speak on this. At the same time, other PS leaders asked to disassociate themselves from the Ramiz Alia period, which the PS was tied to at the beginning. And this should be confessed, because Ramiz Alia did not offer the alternative of change, but that of delay. We demanded that the alternative of real change be won precisely at this congress.

[Mirashi] Considering the fact that Fatos Nano was prime minister during Ramiz Alia's period, do you think that the party renovation or abandonment of Ramizist inheritance would constitute a demagogy for your party, in the case of Nano's possible election?

[Meta] I do not relate the PS renovation with this issue. First of all, I do relate it to the fact that the party should start giving signals as being a real socialist force. And this cannot be done by separate persons, neither Nano nor me or anyone else. This should be done by the PS, all its forums and structures.

Albania: TV Head on Criticism, Concerns

96P20494A Tirana RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE in Albanian 30 Jul 96 p 5

[Interview with Qemal Sakajeva, director of Albanian Television, by Cerciz Loloci; place and date not given: "Television and Albanian Information Unity"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Loloci] Although there are many obstacles to Pan-Albanian unity, Albanian Television [TVSh] has taken some important steps toward spiritual unity. What do you think about this?

[Sakajeva] Albanians here and beyond the "wall of safe separation" should applaud with all our hearts: "Long live the scientists."

Why? Because the politicians cut us in half and they continue to keep us separate. The democratic processes are giving us hope. But I still say: "Long live the scientists." For three years, thanks to technology, the TVSh logo has been able to bring about the cultural and informational unification of the entire national area. [passage omitted] Viewers in Tirana and Pristina, Tetovo and Ulqinj, Albanians in Greece and anywhere else in Europe can listen to the same news at the same time, in the same language, Albanian. The slogan "the same news in Albanian" justifies the cost. [passage omitted]

[Loloci] Is the satellite program a big undertaking which aims, among other things, at European emancipation and civilization?

[Sakajeva] When TVSh began its satellite program on 1 November 1993, there were 14 European countries which were broadcasting only within their own states. In every way, this was an historic event for all Albanians. This was a real reentry of the Albanian lands into Europe, where they had been located geographically and historically since early days, along with their culture. During the past three years, some of these 14 states expanded their television broadcasting in Europe and beyond. We have remained at two hours and we have a hard time paying for this. [passage omitted] During these two hours, there are 6-7 million Albanian viewers who form a "unified Albanian information state." This is an achievement of the European democratic standard; it is a vote for the "Television Without Borders" project.

[Loloci] As a director of the all-inclusive information media, how do you view the connection between the media and the consolidation of democratic institutions in our country?

[Sakajeva] [Passage omitted] Albanian television is no more and no less than a faithful mirror of all the democratic developments in Albania, with their great and undeniable values and with their unavoidable shortcomings. The very headquarters of TVSh is one of the ordinary buildings that Albania inherited from socialism of the 1970's. In addition, the TVSh employees, those doing creative and technical work, are ordinary Albanians.

Albanian television has been a great help in establishing and developing democracy. [Pasage omitted] Naturally, there has been criticism of television during the past four years. If the criticism has been justified and we have been able to change our activity accordingly, we have done so. Some criticism—such as that of a party chairman who stated, two days before the elections, that, if his party won, the first thing they would do on 27 May [the day after the elections] would be to put the director of TVSh in prison and force him to sell his house (my house is the worst one in the capital that any

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journalist could have), that they would raze the TVSh building and would sell the bricks in Bosnia, that they would plant hay and potatoes on his land—would have been entertaining if it had been filmed and shown to the public. Such politicians have jeopardized democracy. A delirious person should be an object of pity because, if I am not mistaken, such a person suffers from a sickness.

The construction of socialist Albania could not be thought of and understood without television.

[Loloci] What are the relations between the board of directors of RTSh [Albanian Radiotelevision] and the management team of TVSh and state and party institutions?

[Sakajeva] TVSh is a tree full of ripe fruit, located at a crossroads. Passersby want to take more and more from it. The law regulates their right in this case. The current status of RTSh is clear. It is under the jurisdiction of the People's Assembly. The regulation approved by the previous management council is the basis for this status. Relations with state and party institutions are based on this regulation. The management council has been disbanded and has not been operating since the elections. The law on the public and private electronic media is ready now. This law will be going before the People's Assembly. I do not know when. However, after more than four years in television, at the most difficult time from all points of view, I have arrived at this conclusion: it is quite hard and, at the same time, easy, in a state of freedom, to manage television or to establish professional relations with parliament, with the state, with a number of parties, with countless societies, with certain individuals and citizens, with foreigners, etc. It is hard because great pressure is exerted on television and its director every moment of the day, by the cultured and the vulgar, by reasonable or sick people, by tolerant politicians or by street politicians. [passage omitted]

[Loloci] What is the status of the tranformation of Albanian Television into a public television service, the approval of its new status and the creation of the broadest possible framework for the electronic media?

[Sakajeva] As we know, the draft law on public and private television is ready. I do not have the power to state, officially, that it has been approved and is being applied. But I can say that, during the past four years, TVSh has done praiseworthy work in the field of public television with its broadcasts and transmissions. In the basis of information available to me, I can say with conviction that TVSh is a television system whose program satisfies the requirements for public television. It is not public in regard to its financing and its management organs, but this will change after the law is approved. The complete picture of television activity will be created after Albania has private television. I expressed this opinion publicly in the press and on TVSh in December 1993 after my participation in a joint meeting with the heads of the American television channels and the heads of the television stations of the former Soviet Union, held in Atlanta this year. The meeting was chaired jointly by Former U.S. President Jimmy Carter and the head of an independent Russian station, Eduard Sagalayev. I still have the same opinion, namely: creative broadcasting and technological progress will occur in TVSh only if the proper mechanism is found. This mechanism is called competition.

[Loloci] Can you tell us some of your concerns and some of the future aims of the television management team?

[Sakajeva] I mentioned this earlier in the press and in a meeting with Albanian businessmen—sponsors of the most expensive television programs that we produced in the past four years. I am grateful to the following for all that you have done:

1. To the TVSh artistic and technical crew who worked very hard—till they "went mad," one might say,

2. To the Government of Kosova and Kosova Radiotelevision which, together with TVSh, made an investments at a very difficult technical and financial time.

3. To the Albanian businessmen who sponsored luxury programs on TV. At a time when [the Italian relief project] "Pelican" was distributing bread throughout Albania, we kept the cultural life of the people alive on television. We convinced ourselves that we could create and transmit programs that were up to European standards.

Any complaints? Of course, there are many. These are the most urgent concerns:

1. Getting credits to change TVSh's technology. During the past four years, which have been difficult for the Albanian Government, a critic of parliament would note that for 1995, and of course for 1996 and later years (but not for 1992, 1993, 1994), the TVSh project was supposed to be given financial support to obtain up-to-date technology. This did not take place. I think that the greatest loss during these years has been the loss of time. If the new government and the new parliament do not understand this quickly, in the competitive conditions which prevail, there will be serious consequences.

2. Urgent financial changes in the wages of creative personnel and engineers. The current wage system does not make any distinction between a person who does quality work and another person who does not work or

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who is incompetent. Workers in TVSh continue to be confronted with exhortations that they work harder and better or with the frightening threat: "You had better work or you will lose your job." This is happening because there is still no mechanism that rules out exhortations and threats. This is a real problem and only competition will solve it. Competition is the mechanism that is lacking.

3. Television which is as independent as possible. Any citizen or party official should be able to call the director of TVSh or television in general sense to criticize, to make a request and to evaluate reporting but he should not dare to make such a telephone call if his intention is to cause television to lose its independence and violate its professionalism. Independence based on professionalism is what democracy has created for television.

4. [Passage omitted] We have been slow to bring young people into Albanian Television. When I visited CNN in Atlanta, I was told by the director that the average age of CNN reporters is 27 years. [passage omitted] The doors of TVSh should be open to the youth. Why hasn't this happened? Some people have to leave before others can come in. Why hasn't this occurred? I maintain that it is because competition, the "institution" of natural enlargement, has not been created. [passage omitted]

5. We have gained experience in transmission by satellite. However, there are still problems in this area. They are mainly financial. There are delays in payments for the satellite transponder and demands for more broadcasts. These two things are not in accord with the economic possibilities of TVSh. I think that the resolution of the problem of Kosova in the best way possible for the Albanians will not change the situation of transmission by satellite from Tirana. Since this is an essential service for us Albanians, the time has come for satellite transmission to become, once again, the object of serious discussion between Radiotelevision in Albania and Radiotelevision in Kosova, between the Government of Albania and the Government of Kosova. The two governments must be concerned with this issue. In no country of Europe is satellite transmission the private domain of an individual television station, Albanian Radiotelevision, in this case.

What are the goals of the TVSh board of directors for the future? Whoever this board of directors might be, on the basis of my knowledge of television. I believe that the five concerns that I expressed above will be the conditions for success or failure.

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Bulgaria: Bokova Appointed First Deputy Foreign Minister

AU2308173396 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 23 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The Press Center of the Ministry of Foreign Affair's announces that by an order [zapoved] of Zhan Videnov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, Mrs. Irina Bokova has been appointed first deputy minister of foreign affairs. Mrs. Bokova preserves her post as secretary of the Council of Ministers on issues of European integration.

Bulgaria: 'Mistakes' in Policy on FYROM Analyzed

AU2308181096 Sofia STANDART NEWS in Bulgarian 23 Aug 96 p 7

[Commentary by Krasimir Uzunov: "Party Fog and Blunders Are Strangling Our Policy Toward Skopje"]

[FBIS Translated Text] History has yet to judge the mistakes. It is an unquestionable fact that Bulgaria was the first to stand behind the southernmost and poorest Yugoslav republic in its quest for independence.

Naturally, no one in Skopje speaks about this today. The political memory of the rulers there proved to be shorter than the historical and national one. Bulgaria's role is being deliberately belittled. Just like 10 years ago, everything Bulgarian is either bad or low-quality, while the news from Bulgaria, as a rule, is either not to be heard or is of a criminal character.

The guilty conscience syndrome continues to act. It appears that it will dominate the attitude of the Republic of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] to Bulgaria for the next 10 years.

However, as the old saying goes, "it takes two for love and hatred alike." Both Sofia and Skopje should share the blame for Macedonia's capricious policy toward Bulgaria. Unfortunately, we even own the major share of this blame.

The Macedonian example is a classical example of the Bulgarian political forces' insensitivity to the national interests and the lack of any long-range factors in their thinking.

The very act of recognizing the independence of the Republic of Macedonia and establishing diplomatic relations with it divided Bulgaria's political forces, aspiring for power, into two camps. The Union of Democratic Forces [SDS], which ruled at that time, claimed the exclusive credit for discovering the Macedonian issue—an issue as old as the third Bulgarian state. The Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP]—at that time an opposition force—restricted its political contacts to certain kindred parties in the Republic of Macedonia.

The young state did not receive an adequate political treatment on the part of Bulgaria. The door that opened to the southwest allowed the influx of various elements into Skopje—from Sri Lankan "tourists" and Nigerian blacks, to Russian and Bulgarian prostitutes, masked as ballerinas and U.S. rangers. All kinds of diplomats and spies with long service in Bulgaria acquired the possibility of putting their skills to use in Macedonia and applying what they had studied in Bulgaria without the problem of a language barrier.

Only we proved to be unprepared, and this at a time when everyone expected from us an aggressive and vital position, in the best sense of the word, based on the experience acquired during decades of bans and persecution. One after another, self-appointed and phony politicians tried to build up their personal image through speculations with the pain called Macedonia.

The president, governments, and ministers developed their own personal policies. The incumbent president recognized the independence of Macedonia during the week of deliberation between the first and second rounds of the presidential elections, mostly as a result of his striving to attract the votes of those who think in national terms and in an attempt to balance the pro-Turkish slant of his policy.

Afterward, Zhelev began garden meetings with Kiro Gligorov at dinners after theater shows in Sofia and private meetings in Skopje. The result was the translation of two of Zhelev's books into Macedonian and the appointment of one or two pro-Zhelev diplomats to the Macedonian Embassy. That was all. Gligorov refused to sign a treaty with us despite the fact that we hoisted the flag with the Star of Vergina, which the Macedonians later relinquished, at the Boyana Residence. The Macedonian president had his picture taken at St. Aleksandur Nevski Cathedral and visited his nephews in order to have a conversation with them in a literary language.

A Bulgarian prime minister—Lyuben Berov—officially visited Skopje for the first time since 1944. He wrote in the book next to Gotse Delchev's grave that the place "is a wonderful memorial to 19th century art," and did not say a single word about Macedonia's national liberation struggle.

Valentin Aleksandrov [defense minister in Berov's cabinet] rejected the proposed military cooperation treaty on the basis of the claim that we have no interests in Macedonia. Then the Macedonians embraced the Turks.

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Aleksandur Yordanov [former National Assembly chairman] did not visit Skopje as parliament head, but appeared almost illegally at a congress of the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party of Alliance for Macedonia in Sip.

For their part, our current leaders dangle between internal problems, personal interest, and nostalgia for the time of the proletarian internationalism. One can hardly talk about an equal approach in the attitude toward the neighbors, since there have been at least 10 visits to Athens and Belgrade during the two year period of BSP rule. For its part, Skopje remembers that two BSP deputies—Georgi Purvanov and Emil Kostadinov—attended a Socialist Party congress and preferred to negotiate boldly with some Agrarians there.

The attitude of our opposition does not differ much. Two deputies from the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Union of Macedonian Associations are in charge of Macedonian issues there. However, this attitude places many question marks on every action.

Bulgaria is doomed to run behind developments, and to do this precisely in a period when, for the first time in a century, we have the opportunity to prove our right to a presence in the Vardar Valley without the emotions and mistakes that resulted in 200,000 soldiers' graves in Krivolak, Demir Khisar, and Kalimantsi and by the Cherna River.

The only thing left is to wait for the appearance of a second generation of politicians, who would put the state interests before the colors of their party flags. In this context, the Macedonia case will be the litmus test of our national maturity.

Bulgaria: Military Council Discusses Staffing, Posts

AU2308174396 Sofia BULGARSKA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 23 Aug 96 pp 1, 3

[Staff report: "General Nikolov Is 2d Army Corps Chief"]

[FBIS Translated Text] On 22 August, a meeting of an expanded military council of the General Staff chief on the reshuffling of the Ground Troops command took place at the Ground Troops Main Staff. The two staffs discussed the plans to reshuffle highranking officers at the Ground Troops Main Staff, the Ground Troops units, and the military schools. Lieutenant General Ginyo Tonev, chief of the Ground Troops Main Staff, briefed the participants on the personnel changes in the Armed Forces. General Draganov presented a plan for the 1st Army Corps, Gen. Denev a plan for the 2d Army, and General Todorov a plan for the 3d Army Corps.

Some 273 Ground Troops officers were proposed for dismissal. This is by 66 more than in 1995. The command units contain 105 commanders of platoons and companies, and 144 have junior officer ranks. Almost 2,000 officers have been proposed for new appointments—60 more than in 1995. Some 186 were proposed for promotion to the next rank, 673 for promotion to a new post, 924 for reappointment to posts at the same rank as they hold now, and several for appointment to lower positions. Some 306 officers have been transferred to other garrisons. Some 250 officers from the military schools, the Military Academy, the Defense Ministry, the Bulgarian Army General Staff, and other departments are to join the Ground Troops. Some 300 additional officers are actually needed by the Ground Troops.

Almost 1,000 platoon commanders with officer rank are needed. Their places will be taken by petty officers-cadets and junior sergeants. Competitions for the admission of reserve officers to regular service will be held. In the final analysis, the number of officers in the Ground Troops continues to decrease. Some 22 fewer officers than in 1995 will join the Ground Troops.

Not all the proposed promotions were approved by the council. Even some promotions explicitly requested by various staffs, Armed Forces branches, and departments were not approved by the council or were left for further consideration. Some of those proposed for promotion had bad recommendations and did not meet the requirements for promotion to a higher post. Even requests of the commanders to get rid of some of them, were not approved, because this would have negatively affected the collectives.

At the invitation of the chief of the Bulgarian Army General Staff, the council was attended by Mr. Petrov, head of the National Security Department at the Council of Ministers, who brought with him and read the decrees on reshuffling the higher command personnel as of 1 September, signed by the president and the prime minister. The new appointments will be published in a ministerial order.

Major General Petko Dragov will be released from the post of head of the Military Police Administration at the General Staff and will become deputy chief of the Ground Troops Main Staff. Maj. Gen. Tsanko Dolenski, until now deputy commander of the 1st Army Corps, becomes head of the Military Police Administration. Maj. Gen. Ivan Dobrev was appointed deputy commander of the 1st Corps combat training. Colonel Georgi Georgiev, until now head of the training center in Shumen, was promoted to the rank of major general and becomes chief of the Vasil Levski Higher

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Military School. Maj. Gen. Stefan Nikolov was relieved of the post of deputy head of the Ground Troops Main Staff and appointed commander of the 2d Army Corps.

Many officers were appointed heads of departments. Gen. Totomirov pointed out that relieving some of them of their previous posts is related to their study in the Military Academy General Staff course. He also stressed that the new appointments take effect as of 1 September 1996. Until then, those who hold the posts now will continue to fully implement their duties, while the new appointees will have the possibility to prepare themselves for the new posts.

Bulgaria: Unions, DPS Said To Organize 'Riots'

AU2308141796 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 23 Aug 96 p 2

[Staff report: "Trade Unions To Lead Riots of DPS Voters in Rhodopes"]

[FBIS Translated Text] On 22 August Ramadan Karakash, chairman of the Kurdzhali Municipal Council's [branch of the] Movement for Rights and Freedoms [DPS], said that "there will be organized protests in the Rhodopes against the government, but this is the business of the trade unions rather than the DPS." One month ago DPS Secretary Osman Oktay said that the DPS would not lead the riots because it would give the Bulgarian Socialist Party a reason to declare a state of emergency. DPS deputies claim that the voters are desperate and have turned their backs on their leaders.

Podkrepa Labor Confederation structures have been established in Kurdzhali region over the last two months, and it is expected that riots would engulf the entire country even before the presidential elections. Petur Iliev, chairman of the Confederation of Independent Trade Union in Kurdzhali, said that "the trade unions are beginning to study the readiness for all-national protests." Khristo Sirakov and Daniel Sirakov, leaders of the Bulgarian Business Bloc [BBB] in Kurdzhali, promised on 22 August that the BBB would support the trade unions. The population of the Rhodopes is demanding an increase in the tobacco purchase price and the establishment of controls over food prices.

Bulgaria: New BZNS Leader Pinchev Views Mozer Ouster

AU2608082396 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 25 Aug 96 p 2

[Interview with BZNS Chief Secretary Georgi Pinchev by Plamen Petkov; place and date not given: "We Are Not Afraid of a Split in the BZNS"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Petkov] Are you concerned about a split in the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union [BZNS]?

[Pinchev] We are not afraid of a split, because the group that is demanding an extraordinary congress consists of 100 people, no more. Only the small group around Mrs. Mozer will make noises in the mass media more intensively.

[Petkov] What were the specific reasons for replacing Mrs. Mozer?

[Pinchev] The specific reasons are as follows: Her attempt to organize something like a coup with a small group against the entire organization by convening an illegal congress that contradicts our statutes without first holding meetings of the local branches and okrug conferences. Another reason is the application she filed with the Sofia City Court's Associations Department for appropriating our organization's name. This is an unprecedented event in the BZNS.

[Petkov] Would she be replaced had she not demanded an extraordinary congress?

[Pinchev] No, by no means.

[Petkov] How would you comment on President Zhelev's statement on the developments in the BZNS?

[Pinchev] We are very bitter. The president obviously does not understand the processes in the BZNS, and we think that he was manipulated by certain people. Mr. President's interference was more than indecent.

[Petkov] How will the Democratic Party react?

[Pinchev] The BZNS-Democratic Party coalition has its place in the political space. The two parties do not have another alternative.

Bulgaria: Former BZNS Leader Sees BSP Behind Ouster

AU2608125696 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 26 Aug 96 p 2

["Telephone interview from the United States" with Anastasiya Mozer, former chief secretary of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union, by Todor Tokin; date not

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given: "The Request for My Ouster Came Also From the BSP"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Tokin] How did you accepted the report about the coup against you?

[Mozer] I was not surprised. This has been a systematic policy since the last congress. The Ruling Council and Permanent Board were elected and worked in a manner aimed at forcing me to resign. I do not intend to accept this illegal decision. It was adopted at a time when the procedure for convening an extraordinary congress had already been started by illegitimate members of the Permanent Board and an illegitimate chairman of the Ruling Council.

[Tokin] Prior to the Saturday meeting, President Zhelev supported you. Those who call themselves the Permanent Board issued a counterdeclaration against him....

[Mozer] I was touched by the president's gesture. The people usually keep out of the way at difficult moments. I think that certain representatives of the democratic community interpreted Dr. Zhelev's words incorrectly. As far as the declaration of Petko Iliev and Georgi Pinchov is concerned—they and I have spoken different languages for a long time already. For example, they have no idea and would have difficulty understanding what the membership of the BZNS [Bulgarian National Agrarian Union] in the European Christian Democratic Union means. We were admitted to this union after I became chief secretary.

[Tokin] How will things develop from now on—with a coalition with the People's Union or the united opposition?

[Mozer] As far as I know, the People's Union recognizes Anastasiya Mozer as the BZNS chief secretary. Others from the united opposition also dissociate themselves from Iliev, Pinchev, Khorozov, and Nevrokopski, who have lost their senses. They succumbed to people from outside, who know their sick ambitions well.

[Tokin] Who are those people?

[Mozer] The request to oust me came from the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP]. There as an article in DUMA in the past that pointed out how harmful for the BZNS Dr. Georgi Mikhaylov Dimitrov was and stressed that this applies also to his daughter [Mozer]. The BZNS was urged to reach the right conclusion....

Bulgaria: Mozer's 'Ouster' Linked to SDS Manipulation

AU2608123796 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 26 Aug 96 p 5

[Commentary by Milena Nikolova: "SDS Easily Reconciled to Mozer's Ouster"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The scandals in the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union [BZNS] remind one of the time when the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] used to purge and oust whoever it wanted. Then, many former symbols of democracy were kicked out in the name of the blue [SDS] idea. What has happened now in the BZNS demonstrates the unmistakable handwriting of the strategists from the ranks of the so-called backstabbers [the circle of hard-core SDS members around Filip Dimitrov]. Anastasiya Mozer, who led the BZNS until now, was accused of being an agent of No. 20 Positano Street [Bulgarian Socialist Party headquarters], despite the fact that the entire Bulgarian people knows that her interests are outside the space occupied by the leftist forces. Deputy Petko Iliev began to speak about spies in the ranks of the agrarians, and naturally, after this was reflected in instructions sent to the BZNS activists, the great orange [BZNS] ouster campaign began. Like their bigger brother—the SDS—they began with the main secretary, and on the eve of the elections at that. One thing cannot be denied: Pinchev and Iliev did a great job. They quickly forgot their old flame Mozer, and forgot that when they brought her to Bulgaria they presented her as the daughter of Georgi Mikhaylov Dimitrov [BZNS leader at the time of the communist coup in Bulgaria]. The SDS first pretended that it was surprised, but from later statements one could infer that the processes in the BZNS were not unexpected by them, and that they are prepared to be easily reconciled to Mrs. Mozer's ouster. This is so perhaps because her link with President Zhelev turned her into a greater evil for the SDS than Pinchev, Iliev, Shumanov, and so on, who could easily be manipulated, and whose only pride is that they nominated the formerly repressed Kavaldzhiev as the opposition's candidate for the post of vice president. The No. 134 Rakovski Street [SDS headquarters] style was felt in the events on No. 1 Vrabcha Street [BZNS headquarters]. Perhaps the interests of the group around Pinchev coincide with the desires of the SDS, who does not care much who fights for the name BZNS. Indeed, the best would be if the BZNS did not exist at all. As far as Pinchev and Iliev are concerned, they could wait for a...wooden medal for their bravery.

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Slovakia: Czech Visitor Criticizes Slovak Government Policies

LD2608095396 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 0600 GMT 26 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Milos Zeman, chairman of the Czech Social Democratic Party, criticized the Slovak Government's policies during his visit to Trencianske Teplice yesterday. He was the first Czech official representative to do so. He was paying an unofficial visit to Slovakia, during which he also held talks with Slovak Social Democrats. Commenting on a dialogue with Slovak Government officials, he said:

[Begin Zeman recording] We should speak with them because otherwise we are pushing them into isolation. However, whenever we are speaking to these people, we should use clear words to draw their attention to the fact that some of their political steps, including their abuse of the intelligence services for political purposes, violate the standards of European democratic political culture. [end recording]

Slovakia: Meciar on Budget Deficit, Other Issues

LD2308224496 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1637 GMT 23 Aug 96

[Regular interview with Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar by correspondent Peter Toman; place and date not given—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Toman] After the first six months of this year, the budget of the Slovak Republic shows a deficit of more than 6 billion [Slovak korunas—Sk]. [passage omitted] What steps is your government taking to halt this trend?

[Meciar] [Passage omitted] The Finance Ministry has been asked to draft measures based on an analysis clarifying whether this has been caused by a mistake in the calculation of tax or by shortcomings in our revenue collection. The more likely cause is the latter. [passage omitted]

[Toman] Our trade balance in the first six months of this year is also unfavorable, with a deficit of almost Sk27 billion. [passage omitted]

[Meciar] The economic results of the Slovak Republic are positive as regards almost all indicators, with the exception of the trade balance. Our growth continues to be 7.3 percent. [passage omitted] Inflation in the Slovak Republic, 5.5 percent, is the lowest among all of the postcommunist countries.

The deficit in our trade balance is not a positive phenomenon, and we perceive it as something negative. [passage omitted] We have managed to avoid the inflation trap, and now we are facing the question of how to avoid the trade deficit trap. It has become clear that the phenomena emerging since October 1995 and visible for a long time now have not been properly assessed. Shortcomings are emerging in trade policy and within the National Bank of the Slovak Republic, which has released a considerable sum of money for [words indistinct], thus greatly increasing consumption. It has also become clear that many social policy measures, above all, wage increases, are not linked to the growth of productivity.

This is why we have to try to impose corrective measures in the sphere of those imports that are not desirable. [passage omitted] We have also adopted measures to regulate consumption, above all as regards the import of cars—following the aim of modernization. We have reached the conclusion that these measures should be valid until 31 December, at the latest. However, we cannot rule out some earlier changes. We can already say that [words indistinct] by now we have imported cars worth Sk1.5 billion. With this aim we have ruled out import tax or custom duties. [passage omitted]

The Russian Federation's debt is the biggest one, and Russia has proposed to tackle it by concluding an agreement on a mutual free trade zone that will offer us better access to the Russian market and enable the balancing of our trade. However, at the same time, we should note that Slovak businesses are failing to succeed on the Russian market. [passage omitted]

Our deficit is growing. Therefore, the government must not keep silent and has to adopt certain measures, although the National Bank has also adopted some measures. [passage omitted] I have convened an extraordinary session of economic ministers for 24 August to analyze the situation thoroughly. For the beginning of September, for its first half, I have convened an extraordinary consultative meeting of all of the concerned institutions to discuss the timetable of our steps aimed at avoiding the trap of insolvency and the negative balance of payments.

[Toman] The draft law on universities, approved by the government this week, will probably be a widely discussed topic for quite some time. Representatives of the academic community criticize in particular Articles 15 and 34 of the draft law, which give the Education Ministry the right to accept appeals from students and university employees and that also legislatively deal with the financing of universities and their budget management. Why has the government decided not to take into account the reservations voiced by the academic community?

[Meciar] Three university chancellors traditionally protest against any law. They are Juraj Svec, chancellor

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of the Comenius University and deputy of the Democratic Union, Juraj Stern, chancellor of the University of Economics, and Chancellor Lev Bukovsky, chancellor of the P.J. Safarik University in Kosice. These three had their reservations about me long before they held their posts, and they still have them. We perceive this as a political stance, not as a stance on the matter itself. We do not see it at all as a stance of the whole academic community because we consult on these things with them as well, and we know that they appreciate the positive things the law brings. [passage omitted] A state school cannot use state funds without the state having the right to check whether they are being spent effectively. Similarly, there cannot be absolute freedom detached from reality in that university teachers will prepare graduates for professions they themselves like and not for professions that society needs. [passage omitted]

There needs to be some kind of regulation between the labor market and the education system. This is not a question of freedom, this is not a question of democracy. It is a question of whether universities want to stand outside the developments in society in some kind of an abstract position, or whether they see themselves as part of society, as part of the creation of a highly intellectual potential, which in any case should be utilized and realized in practice. We therefore cannot take some of the proposals too seriously. [passage omitted]

[Toman] This week we remembered the anniversary of the invasion of the Warsaw Pact troops on the territory of former Czechoslovakia. Prime Minister, how do you perceive this anniversary 28 years after the event?

[Meciar] [Passage omitted] We also felt that the world was divided and that, at a time when we were expecting greater help from Western democracies, we in fact received help only in the form of media campaigns and aid to refugees who fled the then Czechoslovakia.

The action itself, even though everyone understood it as a victorious step, implied several things. One of them was that the Warsaw Pact troops that occupied Czechoslovakia were deployed in such a way that the Hungarian troops were operating on the border of the 1938 occupation. [passage omitted]

When the consequences of the action were being dealt with, in 1990, I as the then minister of the interior was pushing for the withdrawal of Soviet troops. On the basis of an agreement with the then president, Havel, I could act independently, and, as a result of that, the Soviet troops left Slovak territory one year earlier than they left the territory of the Czech Republic.

The result was not flattering for me. While in the Czech Republic, the person who organized the withdrawal of Soviet troops was given flowers and hailed, I was turned into a KGB agent precisely because I managed to achieve it one year earlier.

However, it does not matter. Slovakia is free. Slovakia has to consider very carefully the path it will follow so that it can preserve, develop, and protect its security and the inviolability of its borders and the secure life of its citizens.

Freedom is a gift that is usually gained at the price of a great deal of blood. We have managed to gain it through political skill. To secure, preserve, and develop freedom is a greater skill.

Slovakia: HZDS Asking Civil Servants To Join Party

AU2608093896 Bratislava SME in Slovak 23 Aug 96 p 2

[Article by "jo": "It Is Legitimate That State Administration Employees Are Joining the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia, Claims A.M. Huska"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—Very extensive autonomy-promoting measures are being taken in conjunction with the new territorial and administrative arrangement, which foreign countries monitoring the situation in Slovakia must take into account, Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] Deputy Chairman Augustin Marian Huska said yesterday. He added that the HZDS is reorganizing its political structures to make them match the new territorial division. When asked whether the HZDS demands that new representatives of the state administration join the movement, Huska replied: "We are doing it and will keep on doing it." He added that the movement is expanding its membership base and is opening up to new people on the basis of the decision of the last HZDS assembly. It therefore considers it legitimate that state administration employees also join the movement. According to O. Nemcok, state secretary at the Ministry of Education, representatives of the Rectors' Conference and of the Council of Universities have not been able to say specifically wherein the new university law, which the Slovak Government approved on 20 August, suppresses academic freedoms.

[Bratislava NOVY CAS in Slovak on 23 August on page 2 carries a 300-word report by Ales Kratky on the HZDS briefing of 22 August, which quotes Huska's statement as follows: "Asked whether the HZDS knows that state administration employees are being approached and asked to join the parties of the government coalition in order to secure their remaining in the state administration, the HZDS deputy chairman replied: 'Yes, the governing parties are expanding their membership base in this way, whether anyone likes it or not.'"]

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Hungary: Treaty Talks With Romania Said To Be Completed

LD2308125996 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1000 GMT 23 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] According to a Foreign Ministry expert, the Hungarian-Romanian basic treaty is ready, and there is no need for it to be modified. Gyorgy Szenasi, who held talks with his Romanian colleagues for two days, confirmed to the Chronicle program that the document can now be signed. Levente Sukosd reports.

[Sukosd] The expert-level talks can be considered closed, the document has been finalized, and disputes on its interpretation are unlikely, Gyorgy Szenasi, head of the Foreign Ministry's International Law Department, told the Chronicle program.

[Begin Szenasi recording] The talks on the text of the treaty are closed. It is possible with every treaty that one side does not interpret a certain point exactly the same way as the other, but this time I do not feel that the sides are interpreting the text itself differently; at least this has not come up during our talks. [end recording]

[Sukosd] The leader of the Hungarian experts delegation finds it unlikely that there will be further talks on the treaty at a political level, or that it will be modified.

[Begin Szenasi recording] This treaty is the result of a series of negotiations lasting almost four years. For this reason, in the last phase we made a great effort not to touch the parts of the text which had been agreed earlier. [end recording]

[Sukosd] Gyorgy Szenasi believes that if either side now wants any modification of substance, it will render it impossible to sign the treaty.

Hungary: UDMR Leader Calls for Further Talks on Treaty

LD2308144896 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1000 GMT 23 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The chairman [Bela Marko] of the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania [UDMR] will hold consultations on the basic treaty [with Hungary] next week in Budapest. At present Bela Marko does not know at what level he will be received, but he believes there is definitely a need for dialogue. Peter Marvanyi reports:

[Marvanyi] According to the chairman, things could be considered again before the signing [of the treaty] despite the fact that the two governments consider the text of the treaty finalized:

[Begin Marko recording] It is not useful to keep sending messages to each other, in fact it is harmful. We need to exchange our views in person, so we can see how much the UDMR's views differ [from those of the Hungarian government]. As long as a document is not signed it is simply a draft. There is a chance to modify it, to improve it. [end recording]

The other possibility for consultation is another Hungarian-Hungarian summit, which has been firmly rejected by the Hungarian Government. If the UDMR receives an official rejection, they themselves will organize a meeting with other Hungarian organizations beyond the borders and with Hungarian opposition parties:

[Begin Marko recording] I personally believe it would be useful if the [Hungarian] government coalition parties are also present, since one of the aims of this consultation is to try to find consensus in issues where consensus does not exist. [end recording]

Hungary: UDMR To Urge Government Not To Sign Treaty

LD2508182496 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1600 GMT 25 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Hungarian Prime Minister Gyula Horn will receive leaders of the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania [UDMR] in Budapest tomorrow in order to explain the Hungarian Government's position on the Hungarian-Romanian basic treaty. Prior to the visit, the UDMR foreign policy advisory council met in Cluj and formulated the union's position to be represented in Budapest by UDMR Chairman Bela Marko, UDMR Executive Chairman Csaba Takacs, and Laszlo Toekes, honorary chairman of the UDMR. Peter Marvanyi reports on the Cluj meeting:

[Marvanyi] [Passage omitted] Marko said that the UDMR's position had not changed. The union continued to object to the fact that the treaty lacked guarantees regarding ethnic Hungarian collective rights, the settlement of ethnic Hungarian church and community properties, and the implementation of the treaty.

According to leaks from the session held behind closed doors, the three-member strong UDMR negotiating committee was given further arguments suggesting that it was not in the interests of ethnic Hungarians in Romania and Budapest to sign the basic treaty with the current leaders in Bucharest.

Participants at the Cluj meeting generally held the view that the treaty offered only the minimum in terms of the demands of the Hungarians in Romania but that events of the past few days indicated that the current Romanian

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leadership was unwilling to grant even this minimum. They cited as an example the fact that the Romanian education minister had rejected the idea of a Hungarian university even before the signing of the treaty. [passage omitted]

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B-H: Izetbegovic Says Struggle for Integral Bosnia To Continue

LD2408214996 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 24 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The central Party for Democratic Action [Stranka Demokratske Akcije—SDA, ruling Bosnian Muslim party] election rally for diaspora in Gelsenkirchen [in Germany] ended in spectacular fashion with fireworks and a laser show. When [Bosnian] President Alija Izetbegovic appeared, the local stadium exploded. Alija, Alija, Bosnia, Bosnia—30,000 Bosnians chanted. President Izetbegovic spoke about Bosnia. I have waited for this day, for this moment, to come here and to tell you that Bosnia has survived, President Izetbegovic said.

Their attacks grew stronger all the time but the miracle of Bosnian resistance took place. Bosnia was defended, but unfortunately it is not whole, it is not free. They stopped us when we were the strongest. They did not want to have a victor in this war, Izetbegovic said.

That is why Dayton [agreement] is a compromise and a compromise is not justice. We will strive for the integrity of Bosnia, for your return home, for Bosnia to become a democratic state like Germany and Switzerland. We want to curb the appetites of our neighbors when Bosnia is in question. We believe that Bosnia will grow stronger in the future while Serbian and Croatian appetites will become weaker, President Izetbegovic said.

He also spoke about the current situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina: About the reconstruction that is under way, about Sarajevo and Mostar, which are hard to recognize, about the increasing number of jobs—400,000 people are employed now, about the beginning of production, about the private initiative that is already producing results. More and more people rely on their wages and pensions, fewer and fewer rely on social aid, President Izetbegovic said.

After stressing that there will never be another genocide of the Muslim nation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Izetbegovic mentioned the SDA and said that to speak about Bosnia-Herzegovina is also to speak about the SDA. Everything that has been achieved has been achieved by the party. However, the party is also to blame for everything that is not good. The SDA deserves credit for everything that is good in Bosnia-Herzegovina today. However, the SDA is also to blame for all the mistakes. Before you vote, be sure to think well. There is a long road ahead and many things to do. These things have to be done, Izetbegovic said at the SDA's great election rally for the diaspora, which ended 10 minutes ago in Gelsenkirchen.

B-H: DNZ Head Insists He Will 'Beat' Izetbegovic in Elections

AU2308172096 Sarajevo ONASA in English 22 Aug 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Washington—Rijeka, August 22 (ONASA)—Fikret Abdic, former rebel Muslim leader and a Bosnian presidential candidate, recently said he could win more votes than Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic because he "already beat him" in the 1990 elections.

In an interview with the VOICE OF AMERICA, the leader of the Democratic People's Union (DNZ) said that in the previous elections he had had 32 percent votes more than Izetbegovic.

"When I say that I am going to beat him, I am very serious, but I'm also counting on the fact that the Dayton Agreement will be implemented 100 percent, which means that the full freedom of political action and movement will be achieved in Bosnia, which will ensure that Bosnia is truly open for the 'political market' to which we will all have access with our ideas and programs," Abdic said.

Asked to comment on the fact that the name of his party resembles the name of the Croatian leading party, the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ), and on the fact that the party was registered in west Mostar, Abdic said that "it was completely normal, because that was the only accessible region to us."

Commenting on the arrest warrant issued against him by the authorities in Sarajevo, Abdic said that the fact that the Supreme Court in Bihac had raised charges against him does not mean that it should lead to the arrest warrant.

"The fact is that this court once totally compromised itself in my case, accusing me of a crime for which I was liable to the death penalty. I have defended myself for 26 months, and I was eventually released. The same mistake is now being repeated, but this time by another party. Then, the Communist Party brought me before the Bihac court, whereas now it is the SDA [Party of Democratic Action] that wants to do the same. However, that is not possible," Abdic said.

Abdic told the VOICE OF AMERICA that he could not have access to the state media, explaining that over 60 world-recognized media came to his first (post-war) press conference held in Zagreb's hotel Palas a month ago, but the Bosnian journalists failed to appear, "which did not surprise me, because a totalitarian regime is now governing the Bosnian media."

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When asked whether he could organise a campaign rally in the territory of the Bosnian Federation, Abdic said he could do it, but "one has to be familiar with the Bosnian political stage in order to realize that the ruling party has been organizing attacks against all other parties. An attack against me would cause a new armed conflict, on a much larger scale than the one we have just had, and which was also provoked by the same people from the leading party."

According to Abdic, he was the only Moslem leader who has kept "tolerant relations and created a high level of cooperation with all sides."

Abdic also said that he believes that Bosnia's future lies in economic links and prosperity.

B-H: Prlic Hails Croatian-Yugoslav Accord Normalizing Relations

AU2308174596 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 23 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Bosnia-Herzegovina Foreign Minister Jadranko Prlic today sent congratulations to the foreign ministers of the Republic of Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY], Mate Granic and Milan Milutinovic respectively, on the signing of the accord on mutual recognition and the normalization of relations between the two states. The letter of congratulations states, among other things, the following:

The normalization of relations between the two neighboring countries, which also border on Bosnia-Herzegovina, will certainly have a positive effect on the creation of stable peace on the entire territory of the former Yugoslavia, especially, I hope and wish, on the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The agreement could represent a strong stimulus for the implementation of the Dayton agreement in all of its parts.

B-H: Prlic on Transfer of Authority From Herzeg-Bosnia

AU2608115096 Sarajevo VECERNJE NOVINE (European edition) in Serbo-Croatian 17-18 Aug 96 p 5

[Article by "N.M."]

[FBIS Translated Text] The agreement on realization of the Federation was supposed to have been signed on 16 August in Sarajevo. This was to have been the agreement to transfer authority from "Herzeg-Bosnia" to the Federation, as well as on the competencies of the Republic, which are not in accordance with the Dayton agreement. This document was to have been the result of talks among statesmen and delegations of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Republic of Croatia, and Serbia.

"More than 95 percent of the controversial issues regarding the Federation have been consolidated in Geneva, and an agreement should be signed in this respect," Jadranko Prlic, foreign minister of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, told VECERNJE NOVINE. Prlic was in Geneva as a member of the delegation. He continued: "Presidents Tudjman and Izetbegovic signed a statement in Geneva to implement in part the measures and areas of competence which the Federation is to assume from Herzeg-Bosnia and the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Publicly, however, only one side of this matter is being discussed and portrayed from the point of view of who has won and who has lost. I do not care to look at it that way and would not consider this an election campaign."

"Although the public is getting the impression that the Croats have lost this time, I can say that they are the absolute victors because they have managed to transfer authority from Herzeg-Bosnia to the Federation, which did not have any state authority but had functioned on the canton and municipal level. The issue of the transferal of Herzeg-Bosnia's authority and the competencies of the Republic has been taken care of with a special Annex," Prlic said.

B-H: Prlic: Dissolution Is Not End of Herzeg-Bosnia

AU2408135396 Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 19 Aug 96 p 5

[Interview with Bosnia-Herzegovina Foreign Minister Jadranko Prlic by Svevlad Hoffman in Sarajevo; date not given: "Izetbegovic Has Accepted the Idea of Establishing New Croatian Municipalities"]

[FBIS Translated Text] We spoke to Dr. Jadranko Prlic, foreign minister of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, in his office in Sarajevo. We asked his view of the present political moment in Bosnia-Herzegovina, especially with regard to the significance of the agreement and documents which have recently been agreed upon, and signed, that will finally regulate the partnership relations in the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Hoffman] U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher visited Sarajevo on Thursday, on the day when the "Agreed Measures" were signed. Last Friday, the Croatian and Bosniak sides made progress in their talks on the future structure of authorities in the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. What is your opinion about the significance of the aforementioned arrangements and agreements?

[Prlic] Several issues dominated the meetings. The main objective of the Geneva talks was to bring

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renewed stimulus—by the United States as sponsor of the peace processes in this territory—to a consistent implementation of the peace agreement. Bearing in mind that the meeting took place a month before the elections, one had to ignore all the announcements from certain political parties about a possible boycott of the elections. There will be no boycott of the elections. The elections must be held—that was a clear message from the Americans—and it is an issue upon which everyone agreed.

Freedom of Media

If a party thinks it should boycott the elections, that is their own choice. Otherwise, Geneva should work toward ensuring the best possible conditions for the elections. I think that the situation has improved, particularly regarding the media. The reports are more truthful, and the media are more open than they used to be. Efforts have been made to make the Open Broadcasting Network—an alternate television network for the elections—operable as soon as possible. Of course, there are many problems involved with that since it is an organ of the central authorities. I have not participated very much in these arrangements. In my opinion, it should start operating as soon as possible. As one of the leaders of one election list in Bosnia-Herzegovina, I am not afraid of the media's influence, because, basically, the Croats do not have media in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Hoffman] So, is it fair to say that the Geneva talks did not meet your expectations?

[Prlic] What we expected to take away from the Geneva talks was guidance on what to do after the elections. Many people have absolutely no idea what will happen after the elections, particularly in Sarajevo. It has been agreed that four days after the announcement of the elections results, a new three-member Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina will be established, and that a Ministerial Council will be formed during October. During that period, all decisions about disputable questions will be made by the high representative of the international community in Bosnia-Herzegovina. So, our goal will be to establish new institutions of Bosnia-Herzegovina as soon as possible after the elections. I think that was the biggest message we got out of the Geneva talks.

Dissolution of the Agency for Investigation and Documentation [AID]

[Hoffman] However, it seems that important things have not yet been agreed upon between the partners, such as the Annex and the proposal to which the Bosniak side has objections.

[Prlic] Really, the Annex envisages concrete measures, activities, terms which have to be carried out in order to implement this agreement.

[Hoffman] What are those measures?

[Prlic] These measures have to do with 16 different fields, starting from foreign affairs, defense, internal affairs, and so on. I think that we agree on about 90 percent of the document.

[Hoffman] Have you reached agreement over the dissolution of AID?

[Prlic] No, that is one of the important moot points. The Croatian side insists that AID be dissolved in the same period—that is, until 31 August—as the transfer of certain functions of other state organs has been envisaged.

[Hoffman] Of course, one of the more essential guarantees of equality for the Croatian nation in Bosnia-Herzegovina is the work of the Council for Cooperation of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, which recently has not been functioning in the way which it was intended. What do you, as a member of this body, think of it?

[Prlic] I have suggested, and the two presidents agree, that the next session of the council should be held before the elections, during the first week of September. Also, in talks with Alija Izetbegovic, he too, basically, supported the idea of establishing new municipalities with the majority population, which is a Croatian request. Objectively, the Croatian nationals in Bosnia-Herzegovina think that there is no survival for them without the establishment of new Croatian municipalities, and actual practical events show that to be true, too. So, Izetbegovic supported it and said that he had nothing against the establishment of a Croatian community under the same name like Herzeg-Bosnia [HB]. That is completely in line with the decision made by the Croatian leadership a couple of months ago.

New Ambassadors

[Hoffman] Has the situation, regarding the equality of the Croats and Bosniak-Muslims, improved in the ministry that you head?

[Prlic] In the next couple of days, I will sign off on decisions to send the first 10 to 15 Croats to diplomatic-consular representative offices all over the world.

[Hoffman] What about the people who are candidates for the ambassadorships?

[Prlic] I have sent a proposal for the appointment of five ambassadors. The Government of Bosnia-Herzegovina

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supported it; however, the Presidency has not made its decision yet.

[Hoffman] Who are these people?

[Prlic] The Croats who will become ambassadors are: Mile Akmadzic—UN Mission to Geneva; Branimir Huterer—ambassador to Slovenia; Pavo Zivkovic—ambassador to Hungary; Miroslav Palameta—the ambassador to Italy; and Mr. Vlatko Kraljevic—ambassador to the Holy See.

[Hoffman] At the recent convention of the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community] in Neum, you were elected one of the vice presidents of this party. From the position of a vice president, what is your view of the development of the preelection campaign of your party?

[Prlic] Well, in fact, the preelection campaign is only about to begin. We established our election staff, and a majority of the activities has already been carried out. One of the most important elements in the whole preelection activity is the convention and the adoption of the program with which the party goes to the elections. I think that this presentation so far, in fact, shows what the profile of the HDZ is. Discussions conducted in the media so far, have absolutely proved that the representatives of the HDZ are dominating, which means that we have more than a critical mass of qualified people who can discharge important duties. I am not at all exaggerating. I am convinced that the composition of our personnel is absolutely the best of all the parties in Bosnia-Herzegovina. We really are the smallest nation—in terms of numbers—in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and in these elections the representatives of one nation will mostly vote for the representatives of the parties from that nation. However, I am sure that in any other competition under the conditions of civic democracy, the HDZ with its candidates would be victorious in the elections in Bosnia-Herzegovina; the victory would be the result of the quality of the people and the program it has. That is the answer to all those who depict HDZ as a separatist, primitive, or mobster party.

Regular Elections

[Hoffman] Over the last few days we have heard serious announcements by some parties in Bosnia-Herzegovina who are dissatisfied with the rules of the OSCE, which is in charge of the implementation of the elections. These parties threaten to boycott the elections. The loudest are those who claim that it is some kind of "ethnic engineering" of the electorate at work, since voters can choose in which place they will vote. By this very option, will not the elections will be irregular?

[Prlic] The elections cannot be irregular, because this rule is the result of the Dayton agreement. True, it is envisaged as an exception. We see that a large number of people in the Serb Republic registered for the elections, particularly in the Drina River basin, and some other municipalities. The Croats have no reason to support that idea, because all those Bosniak-Muslims will find a place for themselves in the territory of the Federation. If they can not go back to those places, they will force out the nation which is the minority in all this. That is a direct negative consequence for the Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina. So, all those who say the Croats favor "ethnic engineering," are absolutely wrong. Simply, the logic of figures shows that it is so.

[Hoffman] And is there today any stronghold in the logic with those who wholeheartedly and triumphantly call for the dissolution of the HR HB [Croatian Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia]?

[Prlic] Really, the dissolution of HR HB is described here as the defeat of the Croatian separatist tendency. I think that the HR HB will transfer the authorities it had to the level of counties and municipalities. There will be neither shocks nor quakes. One can expect quakes, however, on the occasion of the dissolution of republican institutions. The representatives of the Croats in these talks propose the dissolution of almost 30 institutions of the Republic, which are, in fact, one-national, and which are not in line with the Dayton agreement. Those cuts will be extremely hard and painful for our partner.

Regarding the HR HB and the totality of our policy, I think that HB will be distributed over the whole territory of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. That is also our national objective.

B-H: Use of German Mark, Croatian Kuna Legal in Federation

LD2308194896 Sarajevo Televizija Bosne i Hercegovine in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 23 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The use of the German mark and the Croatian kuna on the [Muslim-Croat] federal market was officially rendered legal today. On the basis of an agreement signed by Hasan Muratovic and Izudin Kapetanovic, the Bosnia-Herzegovina Republic and Federation prime ministers, a single payment transaction system comes into effect in the Federation beginning 23 August, which means equal treatment of the three currencies: the Bosnia-Herzegovina dinar, the mark, and the kuna.

The latest measure in the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation monetary policy is temporary but justified, Kasim

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Omicevic, the governor of the National Bank of Bosnia-Herzegovina, told a news conference today. He stressed that this was done in order to improve economic exchange within the Federation and Bosnia- Herzegovina as a whole, as well as cooperation with neighboring countries. [passage omitted]

This temporary solution with three currencies in the Federation will last until Bosnia-Herzegovina's currency and central bank are established and until the prices of goods and services in Bosnia-Herzegovina start being expressed in that currency. [passage omitted]

B-H: HDZ Senior Officials Address Rally in Sarajevo

LD2508192696 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 25 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The elections in neighboring Bosnia-Herzegovina are getting closer. The Croatian Democratic Union of Bosnia-Herzegovina [HDZ] began its election campaign with a large rally in Sarajevo today. The rally was held under the motto "Peace is Our Choice." [passage omitted]

[Correspondent Ankica Posavljak] Those heading the [HDZ] lists could not but notice all this. They presented the party's election program, but did not spare their emotions either.

[Begin Bozo Rajic recording, HDZ chairman and head of the list for the Chamber of Deputies of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation] This is the day that shows Croat dignity, stifled in Sarajevo for a period of time, in a brilliant way. You are not alone today, just as you were not alone during the war. You are not alone—the Croat sons and daughters throughout this beautiful Bosnia-Herzegovina are with you. We have all come here to tell you, the Croats who have suffered in this city, not to be afraid because you are not alone. [end recording]

[Posavljak] Recalling that the Croat flag began to flutter here six years ago, for the first time after a 60-year ban, Kresimir Zubak said:

[Begin Kresimir Zubak recording, the federal president and head of the list for the presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina] The fact that we have two homelands, equally dear to us, was the reason that they wanted to take one, or both of them from us. Some wanted to achieve this by force, some by deceit. They wanted to tell us to give up on one or go and live there—one homeland is enough. No, we are a rich nation because we have two homelands that are equally dear to us. [end recording]

[Begin Jadranko Prlic recording, Bosnian foreign minister and head of the list for the Chamber of Deputies of the Bosnian assembly] Peace is coming and we have to implement what we have signed. What does the implementation mean for us, what does it mean for the Croat people? There is a series of issues involved—I call it the preelection return to Dayton. Could some things have been better, could they have been worse? I can say only one thing: Our destiny is in our hands because we have never been stronger than today. [applause] [end recording]

[Begin Jozo Leutar recording, deputy federal interior minister and head of the list for the Sarajevo Canton] The organization of Sarajevo is the key test of our strength. We will exercise our right to Sarajevo in such a way that the Croats will never again be in a position that someone else decides on their fate. [end recording] [passage omitted]

B-H: 'Political Situation' in Bihac Reportedly Deteriorating

AU2408163596 Sarajevo ONASA in English 24 Aug 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Bihac, northwest Bosnia, 23 Aug (ONASA)—The political situation in the Bihac region continues to deteriorate following further reports of violence and police confiscation of election campaign materials.

According to a spokesman for the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, local police in Bihac confiscated campaign materials belonging to the opposition coalition Joint List.

The OSCE requested that the material be returned, which it was although two thirds of it had been destroyed. The reason given for the confiscation and destruction of the materials was "that it was against the interest of the (ruling) SDA party," the spokesman said.

SDA supporters in the region have continued to violate the guidelines for free and fair elections despite a guarantee from party leaders that incidents of violence and intimidation against opposition supporters will cease, ONASA reported this week.

According to International Police Task Force [IPTF] spokesman Alun Roberts, their "hands are tied," because the IPTF mandate does not provide for them to carry out investigations, but to monitor police behavior and disclose the information to the public and relevant government officials. The IPTF has reported numerous attacks, usually with hand grenades, in the Bihac/Cazin region and the task force itself shot at Wednesday by an unknown assailant on a road outside of Bihac.

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Most observers agree that if local police forces are left to monitor and investigate their own conduct, aggression and intimidation in volatile areas such as Bihac will only escalate between now and the elections. As a result, the United Nations has requested the removal of the Cazin Chief of police and the Chief for criminal investigation.

The only course of action left to the international community, is to invalidate elections in areas where officials are non-compliant or downright corrupt. This decision is made and implemented by the OSCE and will probably come too late for the citizens of Bihac whose homes are being blown up in the pre-election hysteria.

B-H: SDA Critical of Conditions for Sep Elections

LD2308170396 Sarajevo Radio Hajat in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 23 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] At a session which ended late last night, the executive committee of the Party of Democratic Action [SDA] adopted important decisions on the elections scheduled for 14 September. Since the Dayton agreement is an outcome of an effort to reconcile different, often opposite, interests, the executive committee believes that all elements of such an agreement, which reflected the will of the signatories, must be implemented consistently. Partial implementation of this agreement, which is what is happening now, results in situations completely different from those the parties had in mind when they signed the agreement.

In this respect the executive committee established that the provisions regarding the return of refugees and freedom of movement—which are the key guidelines of the peace agreement and the fundamental conditions for holding fair and free elections—are being implemented very slowly or not at all. The executive committee also established that the Constitution of the Serb entity [Bosnian Serb Republic] has not yet been brought in line with the Dayton Constitution of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The fact that not a single non-Serb party has been registered in the Serb entity and not a single non-Croat party has been registered in the territory controlled by the Croat Defense Council best shows to what extent conditions for holding fair and free elections exist. War criminals are still at large and so on.

The international community and its institutions in the field have failed to ensure that the letter and spirit of the Dayton agreement are implemented in a balanced and consistent way. The executive committee received and discussed the following facts, which have been revealed over the past two days, with great concern:

Due to poor infrastructure and shortcomings in the work of OSCE [Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe] offices, only 270,000 of more than 430,000 Bosniak refugees, which is only 63 percent of their total number, have been registered in the countries where the greatest numbers of [Bosnian] refugees have found refuge.

Many voters among Bosniak refugees abroad have been stripped of the right to vote. In Austria alone, 7,000 voters have been stripped of the right to vote for no good reason. A similar thing happened in some other countries too.

Planned and large-scale use of the P2 form [allowing refugees to vote in a place of their choice] makes possible the Serbianization of Srebrenica, Bratunac, Foca, Visegrad, Zvornik, Brcko, and other towns where Bosniaks had a considerable majority. In Srebrenica, 24,830 Serb voters who did not live in this town have been registered in this way; in Brcko 43,720; in Bratunac 13,300, and so on. A similar thing is happening to Croat voters in Stolac, Capljina, Jajce, and elsewhere. The P2 form has become a powerful means of continuing ethnic cleansing.

All the above represents clear violation of the letter and spirit of the Dayton agreement and threatens the survival of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

B-H: SDA Calls for 'Jihad' at Election Rally

AU2408172896 Paris AFP in English 1710 GMT 24 Aug 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Capljina, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Aug 24 (AFP)—Bosnia's ruling Democratic Action Party (SDA) held its first election rally in Croat-held territory Saturday [24 August] with an imam's call for "jihad," or Islamic holy war.

"The Koran is our constitution. Jihad is our path, our salvation," the imam of a former Islamic studies center in the area, Dzemal Gadara, told the 400-odd Moslems who attended the rally in this southern town.

Bosnia-Herzegovina votes on September 14 in polls that are supposed to reunite the Croat, Muslim and Serb communities of the former Yugoslav republic after nearly four years of war.

Saturday's campaign rally took place in the only movie house in Capljina, where the majority of Muslims were forced to flee amid fierce clashes between Croats and Moslems in 1993-94.

Bosnia's Croats are Roman Catholics, while its Serbs are Orthodox Christians.

Most of those who attended Saturday's rally came by bus from Mostar city, listening to 10 or so speakers

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who discussed the potential return of refugees and the Koran's "guiding role" for Bosnian Muslims.

B-H: SDA Sets Conditions for Participation in Elections

LD2408214496 Sarajevo Televizija Bosne i Hercegovine in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 24 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The executive committee of the [Muslim ruling] Party of Democratic Action [SDA] has adopted important decisions concerning the Bosnia-Herzegovina elections set for 14 September 1996.

The Dayton agreement is a result of coordinating different, often opposing interests. With this in mind, the executive committee believes that such an agreement, in order to continue to reflect the will of its signatories, must be applied consistently and in all its parts. Partial implementation of this agreement—something that is happening now—leads to results that are the exact opposite of what the sides had in mind when they signed the agreement. [passage omitted]

It was with exceptional concern that the executive committee received and discussed the following information announced in the last two days:

1. Because of an inadequate infrastructure and OSCE [Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe] services' omissions in the countries with the greatest concentration of Bosnian refugees, only 270,000 Bosnian refugees out of over 430,000 Bosniak Muslim refugees have been registered. This is only 63 percent out of their total number.

2. The right to vote was taken away from a large number of Bosniak refugees abroad. In Austria alone, 7,000 voters have been deprived of their voting rights without any valid reason. A similar situation exists in some other countries.

3. The planned and mass use of the P-2 form allows the Serbization of Srebrenica, Bratunac, Foca, Visegrad, Zvornik, Brcko and other towns where Bosniaks made up the majority of the population.

In this way, 24,830 Serb voters have been registered in Srebrenica who did not live in the town. In Brcko, 43,720 such voters were registered, in Bratunac 13,300, etc. A similar phenomenon, this time with Croat voters, can be seen in Stolac, Capljina, Jajce, etc. In this way the P-2 form becomes a powerful tool for the continuation of ethnic cleansing. All the aforementioned cases represent a clear violation of the letter and spirit of the Dayton agreement and is threatening the survival of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

It was the OSCE's duty to [words indistinct] for fair and free elections. But it has not done this and evidently could not have done it.

With the above mentioned cases in mind, the executive committee of the Party of Democratic Action demands of the OSCE that it abolish voting on the basis of the P-2 form, postpone elections for municipal authorities, ensure that all voters abroad who have not been registered, through no fault of their own, are included on the electoral rolls, and that it ensure respect for all other provisions of the Dayton agreement that influence the regularity of the elections.

If these conditions are not met, the executive committee will reexamine the participation of the Party of Democratic Action in the September elections and will invite other political parties in Bosnia-Herzegovina to do the same.

B-H: SDA Urges Only 'Higher Level' Elections

LD2508184596 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 25 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The second extraordinary session of the [ruling] Party of Democratic Action [SDA] [words indistinct].

Halid Genjac stressed that the entire process of registration both at home and abroad was fraught with mistakes and omissions. This refers primarily to the unrealistic deadlines for completing the registration process in municipalities and the insistence by the authorities in the areas under the control of the HVO [Croatian Defense Council] that electoral commissions be single rather than multinational. Despite its decisions to extend the registration deadlines, the OSCE [Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe] mission has failed to improve either the technical or organizational aspect of the registration process. As a result, about 240,000 Bosniaks have not been registered to vote in the September elections.

In view of this, the SDA main committee came to the conclusion that the problem and mistakes surrounding the registration of voters could be solved by setting another registration deadline and postponing the elections by at least one month. However, the OSCE has decided that the elections will take place on 14 September and in that case:

[Begin Genjac recording] If it is still insisted on 14 September as the election day—and this is the last day allowed under the Dayton agreement—in that case only elections at the higher level should be held. This would help to rectify the negative effects of the elections, which are likely to put the seal of approval on the

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outcome of ethnic cleansing in Bosnia-Herzegovina. It would also make the return of refugees and displaced persons more certain.

This, of course, would imply drawing up new programs for municipal elections and cancelling the voting form P-2. [end recording]

SDA Secretary General Mirsad Ceman drew attention to the conclusions of the SDA executive extraordinary session of 22 August at which the OSCE had been asked to cancel form P-2, to postpone local elections, and to register the refugees who had failed to do so. On that occasion the SDA executive also decided that unless its demands were met, it would call on other political parties to boycott the elections.

The second part of the second extraordinary session of the SDA main committee is being held behind closed doors. As we have learned, in addition to issues concerning the registration of voters, form P-2 and the postponement of local elections, the SDA main committee will also discuss further steps in creating at least minimum conditions for the first postwar elections in Bosnia- Herzegovina.

B-H: HSS's Komsic Interviewed on Mostar, Elections

AU2308135996 Ljubljana SVIJET (European edition) in Serbo-Croatian 15 Aug 96 pp 15-20

[Interview with Ivo Komsic, ethnic Croat member of the Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina, former chairman of the HSS, and director of the Electoral Committee of the Joint List of Bosnia-Herzegovina, by Zlatko Dizdarevic and Mirko Sagolj in Sarajevo; date not given: "Komsic"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Ivo Komsic is member of the Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina, [former] chairman of the Croatian Peasants Party [HSS], and director of the Electoral Committee of the Joint list of Bosnia-Herzegovina, consisting of the SDP [Social Democratic Party], the HSS, the UBSD [Union of Bosnia-Herzegovina Social Democrats], the MBO [Muslim Bosniak Organization], and the RS [Republican Party]. He is a lecturer at the Department of Philosophy and Sociology of the Humanities Faculty in Sarajevo. He was born in Kiseljak in 1948. In the coming election he will be running for member of the Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina as a Croatian representative and he will be a Joint List candidate. We talked to Komsic in Sarajevo, immediately after the official promotion of the Joint List, a top-level political event that, unfortunately, passed unnoticed by the Television of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[SVIJET] Let us begin with the present situation, with an assessment of the events in Mostar. What is going on there generally, what is the whole thing about, what are the chances and prospects, and what should be done finally to solve the problem? The situation in Mostar is in any case a test for the elections in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Do the September elections have a chance if the situation in Mostar is not resolved, and what should be done to find a solution?

[Komsic] The political situation in Mostar is not only connected with the elections in Mostar and it is not only a consequence of the election results. Politics in Mostar has two threads. The first one is the war thread, which started at the beginning of the conflict and has lasted until now and the other is the present preelection and postelection thread. Regarding the elections, they are clear in one respect: The HDZ [Croatian Democratic Union] lost the elections in Mostar. Second, there were irregularities in the Mostar elections, this is completely clear and evident and it has been established where they occurred. Third, the European community, which has its representatives in Mostar, and it is obvious that it governs Mostar, decided that these irregularities had not influenced the election results. What is not known to the public and what has been dominant in the election and postelection situation in Mostar is the permanent political instability ever since the beginning of the conflict. This unfolding of events in Mostar runs parallel to the election events and these election events are being used only to cover the real political intentions in Mostar. What is the whole thing about? The following question must be asked: Why did so many voters in Mostar abstain in the elections? Of almost 100,000 registered voters, only somewhat fewer than 60,000 voted. In other words, approximately 40,000 people did not vote. We have information that 25,000 of them were Croats from Mostar. The HDZ now wants to play a trick on the Joint List, on the HSS in other words, which saw to it that the Joint List appeared in the Mostar elections. They want to blame us for the election defeat of the HDZ, which is not true. The 2,000 inhabitants of Mostar who voted for the Joint List voted for it out of conviction. They are certainly not HDZ voters. If there had not been the Joint List, they would not have voted at all. They had a choice between the HDZ and the Joint List and they chose the Joint List. Apart from that, the question has to be asked why those 25,000 people did not vote at all. Why did Croats not vote for the HDZ in Mostar? The HDZ has to draw a conclusion from this, it is not up to us we to draw any conclusions. I only know that it is certain that they are not HDZ voters, since, if they were, nobody could have prevented them from voting for the HDZ. This means that Croats are unhappy about the situation in Mostar, which the HDZ is trying to

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hide with the irregularities made at the polling station in Bonn, which are evident and clear. Approximately 26 votes were irregular. Generally speaking, the situation in Mostar has been showing negative tendencies ever since the beginning of the conflict; it has not stabilized and it has not calmed down. The elections have been used to destabilize it as much as possible. The basic problem is that a political concept can either be won or lost on the example of Mostar. This means either the concept of the division or the that of unification, overcoming the conflict. There are these two concepts.

[SVIJET] It has been mentioned very often lately by the most responsible people in the European community and other politicians engaged in Mostar that the local mafia is one of the key factors that contributes to the present circumstances in the town. To what degree do you regard the problem as lying with the mafia and profiteering, that is, in the famous Tuta on the one hand, and to what degree is it a political, strategic, and conceptual problem?

[Komsic] I think this is a wrong attitude toward the circumstances in Mostar. "The mafia," well, naturally, I do not know how many of these people are there, but it cannot be a destabilizing factor in a society or a town if there are official authorities, police, etc. there. The problem in Mostar is political destabilization. There are people who stand behind a political option that they implement by destabilizing the situation in Mostar by creating terror of all kinds. From political to physical. It is obvious that these groups are being allowed to earn money for these political tasks, for this political work they perform in Mostar by making "mafia" business. This business is only the price for their participation in the implementation of a certain policy, since it is probably the most efficient way of payment.

[SVIJET] Tudjman was in Washington several days ago. U.S. pressure is evident. The United States is trying to regulate certain things before the coming elections, as this is also in its own interest, because, if the elections fail, it could affect the United States, too. Do you think that the United States has succeeded in decisively influencing Tudjman, do you have any information about what happened in the United States, and do you think that Tudjman will show any additional readiness to change things significantly in Mostar under this U.S. pressure?

[Komsic] Since there are two different reports about this visit, it is really difficult to conclude how the issue will end. We have the U.S. information, which was said publicly, on what the topic of the conversation was in Washington and on how long the meeting lasted. We have the information on U.S. attitudes, which are very clear, and, on the other hand, we have the report that has come from the Republic of Croatia and its officials, which does not correspond to the U.S. When we compare them, we do not know who went to whom to talk to whom, who required what from whom, who set requirements etc. The Croatian media broadcast a clearly expressed attitude through Nenad Ivankovic, the Croatian HDZ spokesman, whose statement was carried in the main newscast in Croatia. It can approximately be said that the whole world is being blamed for the Croatian position. When you hear this, you recognize a Serbian code in their behavior toward the world. This is worrying and it can only surprise us. The same tones can be heard from Zagreb now as Milosevic used to speak when he defended himself before his own public, constructing conspiracies involving the whole world against a defenseless nation, etc.

[SVIJET] Let us change the topic. You know what the attitude is of the HDZ toward the Federation project and what is going on in Mostar. To your knowledge and according to your assessments, does the SDA [Party of Democratic Action] leadership really support the Federation project as it was signed in Dayton? You were in Dayton, you participated in the negotiations, you know not only the paper but also the atmosphere that preceded the creation of that paper, and you know what the U.S. expectations are. You know under what conditions and how the politicians from this region agreed to sign the agreement. Where is Dayton today, what about the Dayton atmosphere and everything that happened there compared with the present situation? The HDZ does not support the Federation, everyone is aware of that, but does the other side sincerely support it?

[Komsic] When questions are asked such as who supports what, it must always be considered who does what, since, when they issue statements, they support everything. Everything was signed and agreed upon, but in spite of that agreements about agreements have been made from time to time. This means that the things agreed upon and verbally supported have effectively not been carried out. In politics it is not important what one says about oneself or what one proclaims; politics is assessed only from the point of view of achieved results. The politics here are a failure, for both Federation partners. This means the HDZ and SDA. We could analyze the HDZ's activities and we would see that it built its complete strategy for the implementation of the Federation on the thesis about the necessity to split the government of the state from the Federation Government. In their opinion, this was the main hurdle to the implementation of the Federation and to the dissolution of all parastate bodies established

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during the war. We can see, however, that even after the governments' powers were split, there has not been any shift toward the implementation of what was set down in Washington. Regarding the other partner in the Federation—and they have absolute power together, and no one disturbs them at the moment in executing that power—it can be seen that the key elements from the Dayton and Washington agreements are not being implemented. First, the powers of the institutions of the Republic and the Federation overlapped for a long time, which was superfluous, since the Constitution defines the powers of the Republic and the Federation very clearly. [passage omitted]

[SVIJET] Are these policies supported by the international community, by those who directly participated in the Dayton negotiations?

[Komsic] They are not supported by the international community, as we know from the contacts with representatives of other countries that we have very often. This information is hidden from them. The international community is trying to keep away from this problem as far as possible and there are attempts, for example, to transfer the problems of the return of refugees to the social field, in order to hide where the problem lies. There is, for example, the thesis about Sarajevo that it is better that Bosniaks from Gornje Podrinje [upper course of the Drina River] settle in Sarajevo, since they would be closer to their homes then. As if it were closer from Sarajevo to the Drina River than from the region in which they live now and from where they are coming to Sarajevo, that is, to its suburbs. This thesis was publicly presented by the ruling party, by the prime minister. If the partners in the Federation, this means the HDZ and the SDA, support the implementation of the Federation, they should first of all repeal the law that is not in line with the Dayton agreement, which prevents the people from returning to their homes. This is the Law on Temporarily Abandoned Apartments. They both oppose a change to this law, however. [passage omitted]

[SVIJET] Mr. Izetbegovic literally told the soldiers of the 4th Motorized Brigade in December 1993 that the Serbs and the Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina will have national rights comparable to those that Arabs have in France. Do you know about Izetbegovic's thesis and have you ever discussed it with him as a member of the Presidency and a politician?

[Komsic] We have never discussed it, but it is known to the public. I remember that speech very well. It would not worry me, if it were only his own personal thesis. On 7 February 1994, the day immediately before the Geneva negotiations led by Owen and Stoltenberg were resumed, at a meeting of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina Assembly behind closed doors—it is very important that the meeting took place behind closed doors, it was secret, in other words—the SDA made a very clear proposal that the then Assembly of Bosnia-Herzegovina should be proclaimed the Muslim Assembly. This was the terminology used at that time, since the term "Bosniak" was not officially in use yet. It was introduced later on. This was the official attitude read out in that meeting. This was an SDA proposal that should have been presented in the Geneva talks. There is not very much known about it in public, but it was the first time that the attitude about a division of Bosnia-Herzegovina had been expressed publicly. However, the circumstances at that time were difficult, I do admit that. [passage omitted]

[SVIJET] There is a report that the HSS meeting held in Livno recently showed in a very transparent way the changes that were going on. Something like this would have been almost unimaginable two years ago. ;+ [Komsic] I have to admit that I was first surprised by the response and the level of consciousness of the Posavina Croats and now I am also surprised by the Croatian population in the southern part. I do not know whether I should count Livno as Herzegovina, since they do not want to be part of it themselves. The Posavina Croats have shown dissatisfaction with the HDZ and I am surprised by their fierce reaction. I am also surprised by the attitude toward the HDZ in the Livno region on the whole. The HDZ is a very unpopular party in Livno. It can now be seen that we made a very good strategic assessment when we resumed the work of the HSS in besieged Sarajevo in 1993, thus offering the Croatian population a political alternative. Other parties had not been established or re-established, or at least not so enthusiastically or with as much support as was the case with the HSS, which means that our assessment was very good. The majority of Posavina Croats have already become HSS members. Recently we established a HSS branch with Bosnian refugees who now live in Zagreb and over 1,000 people came to the opening ceremony. Most of these people come from Posavina. After that we established a branch in Rijeka [in Croatia], too. People from Banja Luka came there. The hall was overcrowded. [passage omitted]

[SVIJET] The HSS is one of the leading parties on the Joint List. The List consists of parties of various political orientations, but it is a coalition founded on differences. What does the Joint List mean and what is your first information about the chances that the List could have in the coming elections?

[Komsic] The Joint List is really an interesting coalition from the political point of view. It embraces parties and political groups that are even in conflict with one

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another regarding their policies or that used to be in the past. If we consider the HSS's heritage and compare it with the SDP's heritage, we can see two parties that have been in conflict with each other throughout history, or since the HSS leaders, those who remained faithful to HSS principles, were victims of the communist regime after World War II. This has not prevented us, however, from building this coalition; we cannot insist on our partial interests for ever, since we have to work for Bosnia-Herzegovina. [passage omitted]

This is why the Joint List is an interesting phenomenon in the coming election and I think that it represents a new beginning in Bosnia-Herzegovina, as it shows that the idea of Bosnia-Herzegovina is alive, that it must be preserved, and it must be developed for the sake of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which is our homeland. We have to limit these partial interests in a way, so as not to put our strategic positions as a party at stake. The HSS is a national party by name, also by its program if you will, it was a Croatian party also during its history, regardless of the support that it had from other nationalities. It is constituted on a Croatian concept. We are completely aware that we have to insist on the Croatian identity in Bosnia-Herzegovina, on everything which makes that identity. We are also aware that the other nations who live next to us have their identity, too, and that we can preserve our identity only if we preserve the identity and the dignity of others next to us. Bosnia is a risky region, the home of differences, which must not be destroyed, but supported, promoted, and respected. We believe that other parties, too, have entered the coalition for the same reason. It is very important for us as a national party, which takes care of the national identity and the survival of our people, that there are parties in this coalition whose main concern is the social element, since Bosnia-Herzegovina is entering a stage of social survival and it is very important to have parties in the coalition that know how to express the social interest of various social classes in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[SVIJET] The Catholic Church in Bosnia-Herzegovina has taken steps in the recent political past that have directly supported the continuation of the state of Bosnia-Herzegovina. This proves its high conscience about Bosnia. Do you have any signals about how the Catholic Church in Bosnia-Herzegovina looks at the existence and the political orientation of the Joint List at the moment?

[Komsic] You are completely right about the role that the Catholic Church has played in Bosnia-Herzegovina in this war and during the aggression against Bosnia-Herzegovina. I would like to remind you that even in the most difficult moment, when the SDA was proposing a Muslim state, the Catholic Church opposed the division of Bosnia into three ethnic states. I have the documentation about the Catholic Church's activities against the Geneva division of Bosnia-Herzegovina as proposed by Owen and Stoltenberg. The Catholic Church has not abandoned its principles; it has realized, especially over the past year, that Bosnia-Herzegovina is not being dissolved only by those who attacked it, but by those who verbally support its continuation. Sometimes you have the impression that the Catholic Church is changing its attitudes. It does not change its attitude toward Bosnia-Herzegovina, however. If you look at the latest statements issued at the Bishops' Conference of Bosnia-Herzegovina by the bishop himself, headed by Cardinal Vinko Puljic, you will see that they encouraged the congregation to vote in the coming election, not to abstain from voting, since this is of decisive importance. [passage omitted]

[SVIJET] What do you personally expect from the coming elections?

[Komsic] There is something that I am sure about. We shall thwart their designs, they will not divide Bosnia-Herzegovina, and they will not accomplish what they want: transitory solutions becoming permanent. They will certainly not succeed, we shall thwart their plans in the coming elections, so that they will not to be able to complete what they have started, and then new elections will be held in a two years' time.

B-H: Police Allegedly Ignored Attack on Bosniaks in West Mostar

AU2408155496 Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE (Bosnian) in Serbo-Croatian 23 Aug 96 p 4

[Article by "A.B.": "Violence Is Continuing"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Mostar—Despite the abolition of dual authorities and the creation of a single city administration, the residents of Mostar continue to live in the atmosphere of fear and are exposed to terror by organized groups of thugs.

A police station has reported that two Bosniaks were beaten up in the part of the town controlled by the Croat Defense Council. [passage omitted]

What is interesting is that at the time of the attack on the two young men, a Croat police patrol was passing by. It stopped only for a short time and then went away "not noticing" the incident. A similar thing happened when an IFOR vehicle passed by. No one even tried to stop the thugs. After the attack, the two Bosniaks from Sarajevo, whose names have not been released, sought medical attention at the Velmos hospital in the east part of the town. [passage omitted]

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B-H: Minister Issues Orders to Police Regarding Elections

AU2308193096 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 23 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Avdo Hebib, minister of internal affairs of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, has issued an order to all (?centers) of the security service, police administration offices, and police stations regarding the first postwar free and democratic elections on the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the tasks that the police are facing in securing the safe holding of the elections. The order states the following:

Bearing in mind the experience hitherto in carrying out the jobs and tasks of securing public meetings of a political nature and some information on unprofessional conduct by members of the police involved in providing security at these rallies, it is necessary to take some measures immediately to eliminate these.

In order to create favorable security conditions for the unhindered holding of preelection meetings of all political parties and independent candidates that will take part in the forthcoming elections, I order that all organizational units of the federal Ministry of Internal Affairs and their members demonstrate full professionalism in carrying out their duties and the tasks of providing security at public meetings and ensure their safety without expressing their own political inclinations and stands.

With regard to this, I again stress the need to take energetic measures that we have according to the law against all those who try to disturb public law and order and, in this way, endanger the safety of a rally, regardless of which political party is in question.

It is also necessary to ensure the free use of propaganda material by all political parties through regular activities on the ground, except when the content of the material insults the national and religious feelings of the citizens. I stress that the members of the police have no right to confiscate political-propaganda material, posters, and so forth from any political party—the order issued by Interior Minister Avdo Hebib says.

B-H: Bildt 'Not Satisfied' With Situation in Cazin Area

AU2308180796 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 23 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] We have just received a report that Carl Bildt, high representative of the international community for Bosnia-Herzegovina, today visited Cazin and Velika Kladusa. Carl Bildt used this visit to assess the current political and security situation in that area, and to see whether the conditions had been created for the upcoming elections and for protection of the freedom of expression.

Speaking at a news conference, Carl Bildt told journalists that this had been a very useful meeting, during which he had clearly demanded that current difficulties be removed. On the basis of the information that he had, Bildt warned that he was not satisfied with the situation in Cazin and the work of the local police, and demanded that this situation be overcome as soon as possible. He offered concrete help from the international police.

The minister of police of the Una-Sana Canton did not agree with that assessment, saying that the reports filed by the international police are frequently unfair and even incorrect. As he said, the 24 recorded cases are not sufficient to makes such conclusions about the situation in Cazin. One could even say that the so-called Cazin cases have in way been blown out of all proportions.

Nevertheless, it has been agreed that everything should be done to secure conditions for the upcoming elections.

B-H: IFOR Suspends 'Heightened' Security Measures

AU2408154296 Belgrade BETA in Serbo-Croatian 1336 GMT 24 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Banja Luka, 24 August (BETA)—The IFOR spokesman for the southwest sector, Paul Brook, has told BETA that the heightened measures of security for the members of the international forces were suspended at 1000 [0800 GMT] today.

"The IFOR command in that sector has issued the order to lift the heightened measures of security, and IFOR members are continuing with their peacetime activities and the reconstruction of infrastructure and medical facilities," Brook said.

Regarding the situation in the village of Margetici, where an ammunition depot belonging to the Bosnian Serbs has been destroyed, Brook confirmed that Operation "Volcano" is over and that IFOR troops are clearing the area.

B-H: SDP's Gojer Condemns P-2 as Frowick's 'Satanic Plot'

AU2308124896 Sarajevo Hayat Neovisna Televizija in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 22 Aug 96

[FBIS Report] Sarajevo Hayat television carries within its regular 45-minute "Predstavljamo vam" (We Present) program an interview with Gradimir Gojer, deputy chairman of the Social Democratic Party (SDP) of

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Bosnia-Herzegovina, by Adnan Rondic. Viewers' telephone calls are received during the program by the producer and passed on to Rondic in written form.

Rondic reads out the first question, which refers to the "infamous P-2 form" for the registration of voters, to which Gojer replies that "this form is basically a trap, an anti-Bosnian trap, constructed in such a simple way that there is no need for complicated explanations for the viewers. Basically, everyone who has moved into someone else's home has a right to vote in that place." He reiterates the oft-repeated SDP statement that "as many as 125,000 people in Yugoslavia have registered to vote through the P-2 form, of whom 30,000 have chosen to vote in Brcko. This means that this form has already sealed the fate of Brcko. This is a criminal act and the current Bosnia-Herzegovina authorities have no choice but to ban the passing of such a vote. Prowick's plan is a satanic plot to destroy Bosnia-Herzegovina, to destroy the multiethnic character of this state, and to change the demographic structure of this land by resettling the population."

Rondic says that "we have recently witnessed a lot of incidents concerning the opposition parties, particularly members of the Joint List. However, two nights ago a very strange case occurred in Ljubljana involving Ivo Komsic, Nijaz Skenderagic, and the Slovene police" and then asks Gojer to comment on this. Gojer says that "I learned about their arrest from NTV99, but I have not been in contact with either Komsic or Skenderagic. I believe that they are still on tour. Personally, I would not be inclined to blame any party for this incident, particularly not since the territory of another state is concerned. I would say, however, that Slovenia's behavior was, to say the least, uncivilized. They arrested a man who is a member of the presidency of another state, in other words, they arrested a statesman," adding "I think that our state should react immediately at the state level, just as our state should react to Prowick's scheming. This should not be left up to the political parties."

Asked whether the IFOR operation in Margetici could endanger the Dayton agreement, as the Bosnian Serbs claim, Gojer says: "Let me tell you something. The United States is the absolute boss in this part of the world. What the United States wants, the United States gets. If the United States decides to destroy all the weapons in the region, it will do just that. Let us not kid ourselves. Things should not be mystified. You know very well that this Serb parastate, this Serb Republic—for me it is still a parastate and, fortunately, since I am not in power, I do not have to pretend that it is a state—so the idiots in this parastate issued a threat to IFOR and then IFOR just came along and did it anyway. What I am saying is that the United States is a power with NATO backing and they can do their job without any fear that it will endanger the Dayton agreement. However, I personally am not convinced that they have decided to do their job properly."

Turning to the opening of Hague Tribunal offices in Sarajevo and Belgrade and how much they will contribute to the arrest of indicted war criminals, Gojer says that "as long as Milosevic is in charge of the FRY [changes thought] I met there the most ridiculous figure in the world, and his name is Lilic. He plays the role of FRY president, whereas he is only a little helper to that idiot Milosevic. I think that as long as Milosevic is in charge with his clique, and he has quite a clique, the opening of The Hague Tribunal office will mean precious little. Ultimately, Slobodan Milosevic will one day have to stand in the dock, if not of The Hague Tribunal, then some other court that is yet to be established. As for the opening of the office here, I think that it is only for appearances' sake. They should be arresting the war criminals on the sides where they really are, not investigating them for appearances' sake on all sides. The criminals are those who carried out the aggression against Bosnia-Herzegovina, and they are the ones who should be arrested."

Gojer is then asked whether the SDP believes that "the so-called Herzeg-Bosnia" will indeed cease to exist as agreed, to which he says that "two devils sat down to talk recently: Milosevic and Tudjman; and then other talks resulted from their talks. These are the two men bent on the destruction of Bosnia-Herzegovina and I fear that Herzeg-Bosnia will not disappear as easily as all that, particularly as war criminals, and The Hague Tribunal will prove that eventually, are still at large in Herzeg-Bosnia. Until they are arrested, not allowed to escape to a third country but arrested, until that happens, there is absolutely no chance for the disappearance of Herzeg-Bosnia, which is a cancerous body, a body attacked by the terrible cancer of fascism." He says "we have to understand one thing: Every time the Serbs and the Croats negotiate, they negotiate against Bosnia. All their talks are aimed at destroying Bosnia-Herzegovina. However, I do not believe that they will succeed, since we Bosnians and Herzegovinans have proved through the war just how resilient we are."

Asked about the possibility of another war with the Bosnian Serbs if the Dayton agreement fails, Gojer says that "we must not be satisfied with Bosnia-Herzegovina remaining as it is now. It cannot be redesigned by the United States and it cannot be redesigned by the Dayton agreement, which we see as a transitional arrangement, anyway. We have to achieve final victory, which is a free state of Bosnia-Herzegovina on its entire territory.

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We have to be on the borders of Bosnia-Herzegovina and, if I can criticize the Bosnia-Herzegovina authorities for anything, then it is that they have not done enough to get our army and our police to the state borders. Until we are on our state borders, the reintegration of Bosnia-Herzegovina will not be complete. This process of reintegration can go in stages, but it cannot go on for ever; it has to be completed sooner or later."

Turning to a question about his opinion of the Party of Democratic Action (SDA) and the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ), Gojer says that "the SDA is a pro-Bosnian party and it belongs to a bloc of parties that are fighting for the state of Bosnia-Herzegovina. This party was one of the instigators of the Bosnian resistance movement, unlike the HDZ, which has been conducting an extremely hypocritical policy toward Bosnia-Herzegovina and has been trying to annex part of Bosnia-Herzegovina to Croatia with the use of its armed forces, the Croatian Defense Council and the Croatian Army."

On President Izetbegovic, Gojer says that "he is a man who has come from his people and he thinks as his people do. When he speaks, he speaks from the soul of his people. Perhaps he can be criticized for speaking a little too much just on the behalf of the Bosniak people. After all, he is the president of all Bosnians and Herzegovinans, or at least he should be. He is as much my president as he is of all my Bosniak colleagues." He adds that "Izetbegovic once said that the time was coming when we all have to be less Bosniak, less Serb, and less Croatian, and a bit more Bosnian and Herzegovinan. I will always support such an Izetbegovic."

B-H: OSCE Statement on P-2 Registration, Place of Voting

AU2308150396 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 23 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The OSCE has issued a statement saying that the voters in Bosnia-Herzegovina, even if they have filled in the P-2 form—which gives them the right to vote at the 14 September elections in the municipalities in which they currently reside—are not obliged to vote there. This was stated in a (statement) issued by the director general of the OSCE mission for the Bosnia-Herzegovina elections.

If a voter thinks that he has filled in the P-2 form under threat, pressure, or duress, he has the right to return to the municipality in which he lived in 1991 and to vote there. If the voter elects to return to vote there, he does not need any registration form to vote. He will be asked, however, to show a personal document—an identity card, passport, driving license, military card, birth certificate, certificate of citizenship, medical card, certificate of place of abode, certificate of name change, or a statement before witnesses. No one can vote in both locations.

If the voter wants to complain about any threats, pressure, or duress exerted on him to fill in the P-2 form, he must send the complaint in writing to the election appellation subcommission at the following address: Obala Kulina Bana, Sarajevo, Tel. 387 71 442 937 or fax 387 71 667 542.

B-H: Joint List Accuses OSCE of 'Political Attack'

AU2508142996 Sarajevo NTV99 Television in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 24 Aug 96

[Report by an unidentified NTV99 correspondent from the "Oko 22" program]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Correspondent] Zlatko Lagumdzija, Nijaz Skenderagic, Ivan Lovrenovic, Stanko Sliskovic, Bogic Bogicevic, and hundreds of other candidates of the Joint List of Bosnia-Herzegovina have been removed from the candidate lists by the OSCE with the explanation that they have not been verified as registered voters. We asked Mr. Zlatko Lagumdzija to comment on this: Mr. Lagumdzija, what in your view is behind this OSCE decision?

[Lagumdzija] This is a political attack without precedent on the Joint List, and on the creation of a new Bosnia-Herzegovina. I really cannot accept the explanation they will undoubtedly offer us as soon as tomorrow; they are already talking about procedural categories, mistakes, the nonexistence of various forms, signatures, and so on. To use very mild terms, the OSCE's behavior is frivolous. These are the very same people who caused such confusion with their P-2 Form. Now they are causing confusion with the only alternative to the existing—I will be free to say—lack of perspective in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the existing misery in which the people of this country are living. They are trying to discredit the only alternative in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Joint List. We know that they will have to put us back on the lists since this is a case of manipulation without precedent.

I cannot understand how they can make such an inequitable move—removing hundreds, literally hundreds, of Joint List candidates from the lists, denying them the right to be elected. The move by the OSCE shows either complete incompetence or this it is a political sabotage without precedent. If the first is the case, then we are dealing with people that are completely incompetent, which will have a boomerang effect on us. Listen,

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the OSCE will eventually get the hell out of here, if I may use street language, and leave us here to rot in the results of their dirty work. Or they are just political scum, who are deliberately harassing the people from the Joint List. They cannot discredit us in the Bosnia-Herzegovina public.

[Correspondent] At today's news conference the Joint List representatives also viewed the treatment of their candidates in Slovenia, where—on top of the police interrogation—they were not allowed to hold a promotion rally or visit the center for Bosnia-Herzegovina refugees.

The Joint List also came out against the formation of national communes, such as the Croat commune of Soli. It also considers the decision to introduce the kuna as an official currency to be a form of lawlessness hitherto unknown in the European and world monetary relations.

B-H: Frowick, RS Vice Presidents Discuss Election Issues

LD2508161296 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1535 GMT 25 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Pale, 25 Aug (TANJUG)—Robert Frowick, head of the OSCE mission, held talks in Pale today with Serb Republic [RS] vice presidents Velibor Ostojic and Miroslav Vjestica. The meeting, which was organized at Frowick's request, focused on preparations for the forthcoming elections.

After the talks Ostojic said that they discussed the whole process of the organization of elections. We said that we have fulfilled all our obligations in line with the rules of the interim election commission and that, as far as the RS is concerned, the elections can safely take place at all levels, Ostojic said. He added that they also discussed how to tackle some problems with the organization of September elections.

Frowick said that the talks were constructive and that views were exchanged about the organization of what he said were the most complex elections held so far.

B-H: Serbs File War Crimes Charges Against Tudjman, Izetbegovic

LD2308163596 Pale Srpska Radio-Televizija First Program Serb Radio in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 23 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] On the basis of the available evidence that they have committed war crimes against civilians under Article 142 of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic penal code and war crimes against prisoners of war under Article 144 of the Serb Republic Penal Code, the Banja Luka public security center has filed charges with the public prosecutor's office in Banja Luka against the following persons:

Franjo Tudjman, president of the Republic of Croatia;

Gojko Susak, Croatian defense minister;
Zvonimic Cervenko, chief of the general staff of the Croatian Army;
Tihomir Blaskic, chief of the general staff of the Croat Defense Council [HVO] of the Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia;
Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina;
Rasim Delic, chief of the general staff of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army;
Atif Dudakovic, commander of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army 5th Corps;
Mehmed Alagic, commander of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army 7th Corps;
Damir Krsticevic, commander of the Split-based 4th Spiders Guard brigade of the Croatian Army [words indistinct];
Zeljko Glasnovic, commander of the 1st Ante Bruno Busic Guard brigade of the HVO;
Vlada Jurcevic, commander of the Vitez HVO 92d patriotic brigade;
Ilija Nakic, commander of the HVO 3d Hawks brigade;
Zoran Marelja, commander of the Livno HVO 80th patriotic brigade;
Slobodan Martenda, commander of the Split 6th patriotic brigade of the Croatian Army;
Ivo Curalija, commander of the Bugojno HVO 5th patriotic brigade;
Bosko Papic, commander of the HVO Kralj Tomislav 79th patriotic brigade;
Darijo Susic, commander of the HVO 91st patriotic brigade;
Jure Francetic, commander of the Busovaca HVO 93d patriotic brigade;
Senad Sarganovic, commander of the 501st brigade of the 5th Corps of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army;
Amel Durakovic, commander of the 707th brigade of the 5th Corps of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army. [passage omitted]

B-H: SRNA: Buha Opposes Plans To Delay Municipal Elections

AU2608121196 Paris AFP in English 1200 GMT 26 Aug 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Aug 26 (AFP)—The leader of the main Bosnian Serb party Aleksa Buha has opposed any plans to delay the municipal elections in Bosnia, the Bosnian Serb agency SRNA reported Monday.

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"The elections should be held as foreseen in (the) Dayton" peace accords, Buha, leader of the hardline Serbian Democratic Party [SDS] and Bosnian Serb foreign minister, said late Sunday in the northern town of Derventa, SRNA said.

The Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), which is organising the polls, is due to announce on Tuesday whether the municipal polls should be delayed.

The postponement of the polls, one of seven elections to take place on September 14, has been on the cards since abuses of Bosnia's complex voter registration system by the Serbs came to light.

Bosnia's main Muslim party, the SDA [Party of Democratic Action], and opposition parties in the Muslim-Croat federation have complained that the abuses stack the municipal elections in favour of the Serbs.

Observers have expressed fears that postponing the polls could spark a Bosnian Serb boycott of the national poll.

SRNA quoted Buha as saying that any delay in the municipal elections "could only be carried out with the consent of all the signatories of the Dayton accord."

The OSCE representative in Bosnia, Robert Frowick, on Sunday held talks with representatives from the Muslim, Serb and Croat communities on a possible postponement.

B-H: Plavsic Urges Unity of 'All Serbs in One Common Country'

LD2508151696 Pale Srpska Radio-Televizija First Program Serb Radio in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 25 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] In Stricici, a village near Banja Luka [northeastern Bosnia-Herzegovina] the birthplace of Petar Kocic, the well-known Serb author, the final ceremony of the international cultural event, Kocic rally, was held today. Representatives of the state leadership, the [Bosnian] Serb Republic Army and the municipality of Banja Luka addressed the population of this region. Velimir Bozic reports:

[Begin recording] [Bozicg] After the memorial service and liturgy in the church of Klisna [as heard] at the mass rally dedicated to the memory of the people's tribune and the author, Petar Kocic, the vice president and the acting president of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic, Biljana Plavsic, addressed the people of the heroic plateau of Zmijanje.

[Plavsic] I am not against brotherhood and unity. But how could a Muslim or a Croat be my brother? Why should I unite with them when they took us to the slaughterhouse three times in this century? And at the same time not to unite with, not to have a Serb for a brother?

We do want brotherhood and unity with all Serbs in the Balkans, we want the unity of all Serbs in one common country which will be called Serbia!"

Serb Republic Prime Minister Gojko Klickovic spoke about the forthcoming tasks of the Serb government, among which the transformation of the Serb Republic Army is the most important. The head of the University of Banja Luka, Dragoljub Mirjanic, also spoke. Vitomir Popovic, president of the organizing committee, addressed the participants on behalf of the organizing committee of this year's Kocic rally.

[Popovic] We are paying our respects to Kocic in the first postwar year, at a time when the first free elections in the Serb Republic are being prepared. We hope that these elections will not only confirm and strengthen the statehood of our young republic but they will also open the road to its international recognition.

[Bozic] In the cultural-artistic part of the program actors Bosko Djurdjevic and Dobrica Ajatolovic took part, together with the folk group 'Zmijanje,' fiddlers and folk groups. The traditional bullfight was also held. [end recording]

B-H: Krajisnik Appeals to Serbs To Prevent Internal Divisions

LD2408200896 Pale Srpska Televizija in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 24 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Momcilo Krajisnik, Bosnian Serb assembly speaker, and Prime Minister Gojko Klickovic visited Sipovo today.

[Correspondent] The Serb Republic is our target, our fate, and our salvation—this is the summary of the message that the residents of Sipovo sent to the state delegation of the Serb Republic. The delegation, headed by Assembly Speaker Momcilo Krajisnik and Prime Minister Gojko Klickovic visited the town today.

Addressing the residents of Sipovo, Krajisnik said that we must at all costs prevent divisions among the Serbs if we are not to repeat the tragic fate of the Republic of Serb Krajina and added: We have done everything to avoid the war in former Bosnia. But we will not let ourselves be anybody's stooge, because we were a part of Europe long before some who are now boasting they are a part of the civilized world.

Prime Minister Klickovic said that the Supreme Command of the Serb Republic was hastily working on the professionalization and reorganization of the Serb

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Army. He announced that the benefits for the war veterans, invalids of the homeland war, and other beneficiaries of the state budget, which have been late in coming, will be paid out soon.

Speaker Krajisnik and Prime Minister Klickovic met the families of missing Serb soldiers. Do not believe the enemy propaganda, which is accusing us of alleged obstruction on this issue, Krajisnik said, and added that the Serb Republic leadership was doing everything in its power to solve this painful issue as soon as possible.

B-H: Serb Official: No Chance of Election Rules Being Changed

LD2308173296 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1559 GMT 23 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 23 Aug (SRNA)—There is no chance of the election rules in the [Bosnian] Serb Republic and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation being changed, Slobodan Kovac, representative of the Serb Republic in the temporary election commission, said in connection with an OSCE [Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe] statement that municipal elections might be postponed.

Kovac said that it is out of the question for the elections to be held only in some municipalities or at a higher level. "Any change to the rules just five days before the elections are held abroad that is, on 28 August—would result in chaos," he added.

"If anything were to be changed now, we would go back to square one. The OSCE and the temporary election commission cannot give in to pressure from some political parties from the federation, specifically, the Party of Democratic Action [SDA]," Kovac said in a statement for SRNA.

This party has several times reacted to reports on the number of refugees registered on the P-2 form [allowing refugees to vote in a place of their choosing] and it has asked the temporary election commission to take appropriate measures in order to reduce allegedly "harmful effects" of these registration forms. This was the topic of today's extraordinary commission session in Sarajevo.

Kovac said that "all members of the temporary election commission, including the Croat one, were against any changes to the established rules. The only exception was Muslim representative Kasim Begic, who demanded changes."

"Mr. Reed [as received], member of the temporary election commission who is regarded as the greatest expert on elections, compared the numbers of voters registered on the P-1 and P-2 forms, and it became transparent that twice as many refugees have been registered on the P-2 form as on the P-1 form, which could have been expected," Kovac said. He added:

"So, if experts have come to the conclusion that something is regular, then I see no reason to question this. There are no reasons for questioning the rules adopted after seven months of painstaking work and numerous meetings." Kovac recalled that the Dayton agreement allows for refugees to vote in their new places of residence.

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Croatia: Granic Comments on Normalization Accord With FRY

LD2308181496 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 23 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Mate Granic, deputy prime minister and foreign minister, and the Croatian delegation have returned to Zagreb from their official visit to Belgrade. Drazen Korda reports.

[Begin recording] [Korda] Immediately upon arrival at Zagreb airport Minister Granic told journalists the following about the importance of the agreement on normalization [of Croatian-Yugoslav relations] and the talks he held with Kontic and Milutinovic, prime minister and foreign minister of the FRY:

[Granic] This agreement is an important event. Croatia and the FRY recognized one another in their international borders as sovereign and independent states. Both states recognize each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty.

At the same time, this agreement provides a framework for resolving some other, most important, issues in relations between the two countries, such as the peaceful reintegration of the Croatian Danubian area [eastern Slavonia], the resolving of the problem of the missing, refugees, and displaced persons, the problems of succession [of the former Yugoslavia's assets] and of property rights. It also gives a framework for future cooperation.

Today's talks in Belgrade were primarily about the implementation of the agreement, which means the appointment of two commissions: the commission for border issues and the commission for property right issues.

A meeting of the internal ministers was agreed. They will discuss an agreement on combating drugs and international terrorism and (?on extradition).

We also discussed—and perhaps most time was spent discussing—the problems of the missing. This was discussed in the spirit of the talks between President Tudjman and President Milosevic in Athens, precisely, to speed up the search and to ensure that both sides exchange all information. We also discussed the speeding up of the process of the peaceful reintegration of the Croatian Danubian area, the speeding up of the signing of an agreement on road, railway, and air transport and on telecommunications, as well as some other important agreements which are outlined in the agreement on the normalization of relations.

Diplomatic representations at the level of embassies are expected to be established in Zagreb and Belgrade in 15 days' time. All meetings today were held in a constructive atmosphere, with full awareness that there are numerous open issues as a result of the war and the disintegration of the former state, but also with the awareness that this agreement offers an excellent framework for resolving all these issues.

In the end, I should stress that this agreement is the foundation for peace and stability in the region and for peace and stability in Europe. It will certainly contribute to the overall peace process in Bosnia-Herzegovina and it will make a considerable contribution to the European pact for stability and security. [end recording]

Croatia: Granic Views Importance of Accord with FRY

LD2508154696 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 25 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Foreign Minister Granic is visiting Slavonia today. Zeljko Kovacevic reports:

[Kovacevic] In the presence of representatives of the town of Valpovo, Deputy Prime Minister Kostovic; Deputy Speaker Seks; Osijek-Baranja County Prefect Branimir Glavas; Vrkic and Tankosic, heads of the government's office for Croatian temporary administration in eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and western Srjem; and Valpovo Mayor Tomislav Ivic, Foreign Minister Mate Granic spoke about the recently signed agreement, saying:

[begin Granic recording] Croatia is recognized by the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia as a sovereign independent state in its international borders. Its territorial integrity and sovereignty have been confirmed. This agreement will certainly be of considerable importance in speeding up numerous processes, primarily the peaceful reintegration of the Croatian Danube basin, as the agreement states, then the problem of the missing persons, the problem of succession, and some other social and economic issues.

Croatia is recognized in its international borders and this will certainly contribute most to accomplishing the process of peaceful reintegration on time, in keeping with the basic agreement and decisions of the Security Council. [end recording] [passage omitted]

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Croatia: Sanader on Relations With Serbia, B-H Federation

AU2308134696 Cologne Deutschlandfunk Network in German 1116 GMT 23 Aug 96

[Telephone interview with Ivo Sanader, Croatian presidential chief of staff, in Zagreb by Frank Capellan—live]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Capellan] We now have Ivo Sanader, chief of staff of the Croatian president, on the telephone in Zagreb. Good afternoon.

[Sanader] Good afternoon.

[Capellan] Mr. Sanader, what is the use of entering into diplomatic relations [with Serbia] now, although, as we have just heard, so many fundamental questions are still unclear?

[Sanader] I think that it makes a lot of sense because, on the one hand, precisely mutual recognition has been the greatest problem so far. We know that if this is achieved in Belgrade today, if the two foreign ministers sign the agreement that the new state, the FRY, recognizes the Republic of Croatia in its international borders and the Republic of Croatia, for its part, recognizes Yugoslavia—that is, mutual recognition based on and accepting the international borders of the two states—that means that the Serb aggression, which started in 1991 and resulted in the Serb occupation of more than a quarter of the territory of the Croatian state for more than four years, has come to an end. We have also just heard from your Belgrade correspondent that this is also a signal to the people in eastern Slavonia: If mutual recognition is achieved today, this occupied part of the territory of the Croatian state will, finally, not only be returned by Belgrade, but also be accepted as Croatian state territory. This is one of the most important steps toward peace and stability in this part of Europe.

[Capellan] I gather from your remarks that Croatia is actually celebrating the establishment of diplomatic relations with the FRY as a victory over Milosevic, because one is of the opinion that Belgrade will now abandon its greater-Serbian ambitions. Is that correct?

[Sanader] We are celebrating it as a victory of a realistic consideration of the facts. You know that the Republic of Croatia was recognized in its international borders by the whole of the international community in early 1992. This is a fact for us. We are now really glad that Belgrade has also realized that. We regard it as a giant step toward peace.

[Capellan] As we have just heard, Croatia renounces, for example, reparations from Belgrade. Again and again, the assumption is voiced that Belgrade and Zagreb are only prepared to normalize their relations because there are secret agreements with a view to the division of Bosnia-Herzegovina. As a matter of fact, big-state ambitions of both sides could still be translated into reality there if the efforts to preserve Bosnia's unity fail.

[Sanader] I know of this point of view of some international observers. However, I want to resolutely reject it on this occasion because, during all the meetings in the past two or three weeks—here I am thinking of the meeting in Geneva and the meetings in Zagreb and Washington—we—when I say we, I mean the Republic of Croatia, President Dr. Tudjman, and the Croatian Government—have always fully supported the project of the federation of the Croats and Bosniaks or Muslims in Bosnia. There is no reason at all to see something else there. I know that there are such considerations, but I can tell you that Zagreb supports the federation fully and without any ulterior motive. We will continue to do so. It is also a clear signal from Zagreb to the Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina that there is no alternative to the federation and that this is final. This means that these assumptions that Croatia and Serbia have made any agreements at the expense of a third party, that is, Bosnia-Herzegovina, have to be rejected. This is certainly not the case.

[Capellan] Precisely in Mostar, however, the reaction of the Bosnian Croats, who did not want to recognize the result of the elections there, permitted another conclusion.

[Sanader] It is a fact that there were unclear points and there were certainly problems in the Mostar municipal elections. The Croat representatives pointed that out. As far as I know, on the advice of the international community, the Croats finally accepted the election results, not on a condition, but they pointed out that they would contest the results of some electoral districts, for example, Bonn, before the constitutional court of the federation. They have accepted the election result until the decision of the constitutional court is reached. Now that the Mostar mayor has been elected, I believe and I am convinced that the situation in Mostar is developing in the desired direction.

[Capellan] Mr. Sanader, you have referred to it: The question of who will take over the legal succession of the former Yugoslavia is controversial. Who will get old assets, and who will pay the debts?

[Sanader] Two years ago or before that, the World Bank and IMF arranged that each new state that emerged from the former Yugoslavia will take on a certain percentage of the debts and assets. Accordingly, the Republic of Croatia takes on about 28.6 percent of the

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debts and assets. We stand by that. Thus, if you address today's talks, the agreement on the normalization of relations, which will hopefully be signed today in Belgrade, I would like to say that we have proposed that the problem of succession should be dealt with on two bases. On the one hand, on the positive international laws and conventions. On the other, there can, of course, be bilateral agreements. Here, one should say that this is not done at the expense of the rights of the other new states, for example, Slovenia, Bosnia, or Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM], but one can make bilateral agreements. We have agreed to that.

Croatia: Parties Welcome Normalization Accord With FRY

LD2408175496 Mostar Croatian Radio Herceg-Bosna in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 24 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Several Croatian political parties issued statements today commenting on the agreement on the normalization of relations between the Republic of Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, which was signed in Belgrade yesterday.

The Croatian Conservative Party [Hrvatska Konzervativna Stranka] is of the opinion that the agreement on the normalization of relations, which includes mutual diplomatic recognition, gives legitimacy to Croatia's victory in the war.

According to a statement issued by the Croatian Democratic Party of Rights [Hrvatska Demokratska Stranka Prava—HDSP] and signed by HDSP chairman Kresimir Pavletic, the agreement represents the final collapse of the Serbian imperial policy.

Croatia: E. Slavonia Serb Official on FRY-Croatia Accord

LD2408141296 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1321 GMT 24 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Vukovar, 24 Aug (TANJUG)—We welcome the normalization of relations between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Croatia because we see it as an opportunity for us, Goran Hadzic, president of the Serb region of eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and western Srem, said in Vukovar today.

Commenting on yesterday's signing of the agreement in Belgrade, he said the authorities in the region will in no way impede the signed agreements and that they will take part in realizing them.

"We are aware that a good deal of time will be needed for people to understand that they can live alongside each other, but we are also conscious that the agreement will open the door for this region's entry into Europe and the world," Hadzic concluded

Croatia: FRY-Croatia Accord Seen as 'Good-Bye to the Balkans'

LD2408201296 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 24 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Croatian TV's Nenad Ivankovic comments on the Croatian-Yugoslav agreement on normalization of relations.

[Ivankovic] How should one assess the agreement on normalization of relations with Belgrade? Who is right—those who think that we should have waited for Serbia to fulfill all Croatian demands regarding, for example, detained and missing persons or the return of Croatian refugees to our part of the River Danube basin? The wounds inflicted by the Serbian aggression are still a long way from healing. That is why these standpoints are normal and why they must be understood and respected.

On the other hand, a state must not give in to emotions regardless of their humanity, because this is usually bad advice in politics. State affairs are not a lottery but a long-term struggle for national interests. This is particularly true in our case because Croatia is facing the various interests of the international players and it must be said that the world did not want to see a total defeat of Serbia, and even the Bosnian Serbs.

In these conditions, the normalization of relations with Belgrade cannot amount to a triumph of justice or a moral victory, but it is certainly a historic victory for the Croatian state idea. We were not challenging Serbia. Serbia wanted to destroy Croatia and now it is recognizing it within its international borders. All this does not mean that we are going to hug each other, spend a vacation together, and forget the crimes committed against us. We would not do this for anything.

Normalization is a process, a long-term process. The agreement signed in Belgrade is just the beginning of a process. It is no secret that certain issues are still unresolved and that there are problems in the relations between the two states. However, this should be resolved more easily now, including the final part of the peaceful reintegration of our part of the River Danube basin. This is why the Belgrade agreement is important. Regardless of our opinion of Serbia, one thing is certain. There can be no stable and long-term peace and prosperity in the region without the stabilization of Serbian-Croatian relations. The same is true when it comes to Croatia's return to the western

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community of nations to which we aspire so much because no one in the West would admit a state that is involved in the Balkan conflict.

This is why I feel that the normalization of relations with Belgrade is also a way to say good-bye to the Balkans.

Croatia: Bosnian Refugees To Vote on 31 Aug, 1 Sep

LD2308183596 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 23 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The elections for Bosnia-Herzegovina refugees and citizens who registered to vote in absentia will be held on 31 August and 1 September in the Republic of Croatia. The precise location of 80 polling booths will be made public next week, Damir Zoric, the head of the National Coordination Committee for preparing and holding the September elections, told journalists in Zagreb today. [passage omitted]

Ninety-five percent of the total of registered voters decided to vote in Croatia for their prewar places of residence. Almost 14,000 citizens of Bosnia-Herzegovina announced that they will vote in person [in Bosnia].

Croatia: Bosnian Army Officer To Be Charged With War Crimes

LD2408183396 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 24 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The Croatian investigative bodies have ended the first hearing of Mirsad Catic, an arrested member of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Two witnesses, accusing Catic of alleged war crimes, have also given their statements. The Zadar county court has provided this information to Croatian state-controlled dailies.

According to [word indistinct], charges will soon be brought against Catic on the basis of statements by two witnesses, known so far only by their initials. They allegedly accuse Catic of issuing orders for the shelling and destruction of the city [Zadar] as the commander of a division of the then Yugoslav National Army, with the rank of major. He is charged on the basis of Article 120 of the Penal Law of the Republic of Croatia for crimes against humanity.

Catic has denied the accusations, saying that the commander of the division at a time was [Serbian] General Perisic. However, the investigators obviously had more faith in the testimony of the two witnesses, anonymous for the time being, and are preparing charges on the basis of their statements.

The county office in Zadar and investigating bodies are further confusing the situation by revealing all the details to Croatian newspapers, but failing to do so to the Bosnia-Herzegovina Embassy, whose citizen is being investigated.

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FYROM: Gligorov Receives Outgoing Ambassador to FRY

LD2508171996 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1616 GMT 25 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Skopje, 25 Aug (TANJUG)—Kiro Gligorov, president of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM], received in Ohrid yesterday Slavko Milosavlevski, first ambassador of Macedonia to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY], prior to his departure to the new post in Belgrade, it was announced in Skopje today.

The short statement said that "after the normalization of mutual relations at the highest level, the process of implementation and interstate streamlining of cooperation in various areas of mutual interest of the Republic of Macedonia and the FRY has begun."

The assessment in the capital of Macedonia is that the start of the work at the embassy in Belgrade represents a new guarantee for more fruitful and prosperous relations between the two countries, something that will be of importance for the whole of the southern Balkans.

FYROM: Belgrade, Skopje Negotiate Trade Accord

LD2608133096 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1246 GMT 26 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Skopje, 26 Aug (TANJUG)—Expert teams of the Yugoslav and Macedonian Governments will coordinate the text of a trade agreement between the two neighboring countries in Skopje today and tomorrow, the Macedonian Ministry of the Economy said today.

The statement says the agreement should "provide for a more intensive economic cooperation and improvement in trade development so that greater coordination and larger scale trade are achieved."

It is expected in Skopje that the agreement with open the way for a gradual liberalization of trade on the basis of the 1994 General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs.

The final goal is to create conditions for a future free trade zone between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Republic of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM].

FYROM: Talks With Greece Scheduled for 26 Aug Postponed

LD2408152696 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1416 GMT 24 Aug 96

["Balpool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Skopje, Aug. 24 (TANJUG)—A new round of Macedonian-Greek talks on differences over the name of the new Balkan state, which was to be held on Aug. 26 in New York, has been put off because of the upcoming elections in Greece, it was officially announced Saturday.

The Macedonian foreign Ministry said the only reason for the postponement were the Sept. 22 early elections in Greece, after which it noted a new date was to be set for the resumption of the talks at the New York U.N. headquarters.

The Athens-Skopje dispute over the name Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] is five years old.

After Macedonia seceded from the former Yugoslav Federation, Greece, whose northereastern province is called Macedonia, insisted that the norther neighbour change its name.

The latest postponement suits Skopje more than it does Athens, because Macedonia has been recognized under its constitutional name by a great many countries in the world.

FYROM: Macedonian Parties View Law on Local Elections

AU2308173596 Skopje MIC in English 23 Aug 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The representatives of the ruling SDSM [Social Democratic Alliance of Macedonia] stress that the new draft-law [on local elections and territorial division] encompasses the bulk of the remarks of the parliamentary and out-of-parliament parties, as well as the suggestions of the National Democratic Institute from the United States.

"This has created a legal framework for the holding of the local elections in the Republic [of Macedonia—The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] by the end of the year. I believe the law provides possibilities for the holding of fair elections," the SDSM secretary Ljupco Popovski claims. He also feels that the basis for any kind of justified criticism of the law itself is made more narrow. In his opinion, the Law on local elections will find itself in Parliament on 4 September.

"To the Socialist Party, the Law on local elections was acceptable even in the first phase, with certain remarks as to the mode of elections, the attitude towards the electoral activities and the real role and position of the political parties," the secretary of the Socialist Party Mirko Tripunovski said. Otherwise, he is convinced that the elections will be held in the planned period, in the first half of November.

Risto Ivanov, the vice-president of the Liberal Party, stated that the authorities should say according to which

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criteria the remarks of the opposition and the foreign institutions in regard to the law are being accepted, adding that the other remarks, which were not accepted, will be subject to debate in the parliamentary commissions and that they will insist on their acceptance. "Otherwise, we will push for an alternative law," Ivanov said. "Judging by what has been said in the public and the statement of the Deputy Justice Minister Mersim Polozhani, that 80 percent of the requests of the opposition have been accepted, if all of that is true, then it has been done outside the law, as everyone had serious remarks," says Jovan Manasievski, spokesman of the Democratic Party. "It's probably a question of some kind of a trick, as it is quite clear from everything that has been published so far that the changes are more of a decorative character," says Manasievski, adding that a voting booklet is still missing and explaining the cosmetic changes with the fact that it is foreseen to have 10 percent of the votes for gaining entry into the second round of elections for mayor, and not 7 percent, as foreseen at the beginning. He says that the only logical solution is to have only two candidates in the second round of voting, who won the most number of votes, in line with the suggestion of the National Democratic Institute.

VMRO-DPMNE [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity] also feels that most of its remarks have not been accepted. This party wants the censuses for nominating a mayor to be raised to 5,000 signatures in Skopje and 1,000 signatures in the other towns. VMRO-DPMNE also wants the census for entry in the second round to be 20 percent of the votes received in the first round, and not 10 percent as foreseen at the moment. The non-existence of a voting booklet is also mentioned by this party.

FYROM: Ethnic Albanian Parties Ready for Local Elections

AU2308173496 Skopje MIC in English 23 Aug 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The president of the Party for Democratic Prosperity (PDP) Abdurahman Aliti stated that all the necessary prerequisites for participation in the elections have been created. "Some controversial questions have been coordinated. Namely, questions on which we had remarks were in question here," Aliti said. This has settled the dilemma over this party's participation in the local elections. Aliti says that the controversial questions, which foremost dealt with the law on territorial division, have been settled in the talks between the PDP and the government. Previously, Aliti said that no greater efforts are necessary for settling the controversial questions. The PDP secretary Naser Ziberi also feels that the law is correct and that it guarantees fair elections: "Provided it doesn't undergo any great changes in parliamentary procedure, then we can say that we have a law that gives all the parties equal chances and promises a correct determination of the results from the citizen's vote," Ziberi says.

As to the statements of the Albanian opposition about a victory at the upcoming local elections, Aliti says that "our competitors stand by themselves behind their statements and their unrealistic optimism about their chances at the local elections."

The vice-president of PDPA [Party for Democratic Prosperity of Albanians] Menduh Taci stated that the law on local elections foresees autonomous institutions and officialization of the Albanian language as official in some parts of the country. "If you ask me about 'political institutions,' I will not deny—the Albanians in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] have a referendum behind themselves, which represents the will of this people," Taci said.

The NDP (People's Democratic Party) spokesman Dzevat Halili stated that based on what could be read in the draft-law on local elections, "especially about the question of the electoral model, which is proportional, I can say that it suits us and that we will rate better at the elections. We plan to win the elections to a great extent and in all places where there are NDP branches, but we will also run with optimism in places where we don't have any branches, as we are convinced that we have many fans." Dzevat Halili stated that his party was not contemplating a coalition, not even with PDPA, although these parties appeared together at the parliamentary elections.

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Poland: Oleksy Comments on Government Reform

LD2508141796 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1100 GMT 25 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] maintains its position on the government reshuffle. Only certain ministers should be replaced as part of the government reform of the [administrative and economic] center.

Jozef Oleksy, the chairman of the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic [SdRP], has said that the idea of the Polish Peasant Party [PSL] to appoint a new cabinet by applying a constructive no-confidence vote would not favor the efficiency of the government coalition.

In the opinion of Jerzy Szmajdzinski, the SdRP secretary general, there are neither political nor legal reasons to apply the constructive no-confidence vote. He thinks that it would be tantamount to the destabilization of the whole state administration.

The leaders of the PSL and the SLD will discuss the legal implications of how to implement the reform at the next coalition meeting.

At a press conference, the SdRP leaders criticized the Foreign Policy Council that was recently set up. They said that in their understanding this body was an element in the political game whose objective was to censure the government.

Poland: PSL Firm About Government Dismissal Demands

LD2408211496 Warsaw TVP Television First Program Network in Polish 1730 GMT 24 Aug 96

[Relayed by Warsaw TV Polonia Network in Polish]

[FBIS Translated Text] After a meeting of the Polish Peasant Party [PSL] Supreme Council, the leaders of the party have reiterated their hitherto position by saying that, in connection with the introduction of the central administration reform, it was necessary to dismiss the government. The council did not adopt an official resolution on this matter. However, it decided that, after negotiations with the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] are completed, the decisions must be approved by the council.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] Already before the start of the meeting, the PSL leaders said that, in this case, by dismissing the government—that is, by a constructive no-confidence vote—any legal ambiguities could be avoided.

[Senate Speaker Adam Struzik] When the formula of replacing individual ministers is applied, we have a situation in which, first, some ministers work in accordance with the previous law and have their remit defined by the previous law, and some ministers are appointed in accordance with the new law.

The role of parliament is also significant here. The ultimate initiative in this situation rests with the prime minister and the president. I believe that the role of parliament should be taken into account here.

[Correspondent] The central administration reform, which comes into force in October, envisages the abolition of several ministries and the setting up of new ones to replace them. This does not concern all of the ministries; some will remain unchanged.

The PSL leaders are of the opinion that the plan proposed by the SLD not to replace the entire government but, rather, to replace some ministers, may be unconstitutional.

[PSL Chairman Waldemar Pawlak] Only one-third of the Council of Ministers will be reformed.

[Correspondent] The PSL council did not make any statement with regard to appointments to the new ministries, such as the Ministry of Treasury or the Ministry of Economics. However, the PSL leaders are of the opinion that these posts should be distributed equally among the coalition partners. The PSL also believes that one party should not have sole decisionmaking power over finances and state assets.

[Aleksander Bentkowski, deputy chairman of the PSL Supreme Council] The Ministry of Treasury and the Ministry of Economics should be divided equally to achieve a balance and the correct functioning of the coalition.

[Correspondent] The PSL leaders did not reveal in which ministry they were interested. However, asked about Finance Minister Grzegorz Kolodko's chances of remaining in the reshuffled government, they said that that ministry was of no interest to them.

[Pawlak] As far as the finance minister is concerned, the SLD will be the appointing party. We will expect appointment proposals in this area from the SLD.

[Correspondent] Another meeting of the coalition will be held on 28 August. [end recording]

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Poland: URM Head Leszek Miller Profiled

WS2308133596 Poznan WPROST in Polish 25 Aug 96 pp 18-20

[Article by Boguslaw Mazur and Aleksandra Zawlocka: "Is Leszek Miller Becoming the 'Number-One' of Polish Politics? The Chancellor"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *"Leszek Miller is like concrete that will gradually be polished on the ministerial benches but that will never be brilliant," says Czeslaw Bielecki, chairman of the Movement of One Hundred. "Miller is the most effective politician of the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD]. Today he is still a gray eminence, but before long he will take over as chairman of the party," predicts Janusz Piechocinski of the Polish Peasant Party [PSL]. "The unique success of Miller results from both historical circumstances and his very firm character. He is a representative of the communist apparatus, made up of people without an idea, people who only want to wield power," believes Union of Labor Chairman Ryszard Bugaj. "Such an effective apparatchik would certainly come in very useful to us. Miller does not pursue any concrete idea, but he is probably the most effective Polish politician," says one of the leaders of the moderate right wing.*

Four years ago Miller was ostracized by nearly all of the politicians of the post-Solidarity camp. Recently for six hours he was hosted by CIA head John Deutsch. Six years ago he was synonymous with the person sentenced for the inevitable breaking of the concrete of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR]. Today he is slowly beginning to reach for what is, in fact, the greatest power in the country. Some people believe that Miller has already become the "number-one" of Polish politics.

Spiteful people say he is "the Walesa of the SLD"; both worked as electricians and then climbed up the ladder to the highest state offices. Not unlike Walesa, Miller comes from a family that was very Catholic (he served as an acolyte when he was a child) and very poor at the same time. He was born in 1946. At age 17 he got a job as an electrician in the Flax Plant in Skierniewice. He began to take an interest in politics only after completing his military service in submarines. He started his career as chairman of the Union of Socialist Youth at his plant. In 1969, at age 23, he joined the PZPR. Then he held other posts in the youth and party apparatus. Soon he became noticed: Young Miller was energetic, a good organizer, and an initiator; he trained people and held meetings, submitted reports and instilled ideas in people's minds, stimulated and encouraged them. His views were uncompromisingly leftist.

After completing his studies at the Higher School of Social Sciences of the PZPR, he worked briefly as an inspector in the youth sections of the PZPR Central Committee. However, the Politburo blocked his promotion to head of a Central Committee section. In 1986 he was sent to Skierniewice as first secretary of the Voivodship Committee of the PZPR. Perhaps this was when he first realized that, unless he had his own political base, a group of people who would support him, he could stop dreaming about a political career.

"When Miller goes higher, a whole chain of his men get promoted along with him. He never forgets about them," says Sejm Deputy Janusz Piechocinski. While pursuing his policies of organizing, stimulating, and encouraging people (as a result of his efforts, imposing—for such a small voivodship—premises of the KW PZPR were erected in Skierniewice), this time he saw to it that he had good relations and contacts with young people. He also developed lasting and friendly relations with youth activists, including Aleksander Kwasniewski, who at that time was minister for young people in the Zbigniew Messner cabinet. "...we went to Miller's. He lived in a completely empty apartment that went with the job. The most important piece of furniture was a huge wooden box in the middle of the room, ornamented with bizarre flowers from the Plant Growing Institute. We sat on chairs, and I remember eating some terribly stale fried black pudding and drinking vodka. That was Miller's style," the incumbent president recalls in the book entitled *Kwasniewski: I Do Not Like Wasting Time!*

In December 1988, after three years of ruling Skierniewice Voivodship, he finally got promoted—thanks to General Wojciech Jaruzelski. The promotion was a big one; he became a Central Committee secretary. As the person responsible for contacts with young people, in the KC cafeteria he organized a meeting with the young opponents of real socialism. The meeting did not yield any results, but it at least attracted the attention of public opinion to the unknown, new secretary, who in reality spoke firmly against the party reforms proposed by the reformers of the 8 July Movement. At that time, Miller believed that the process of transforming the PZPR should be based on its regional structures. As a result, at the First Congress of the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic [SdRP], he was one of those who received the largest number of votes. Despite that, he allowed Aleksander Kwasniewski to lead the party; as some of his opponents used to say, he himself became the "general secretary of the regrouped apparatus."

"We managed to create effective structures all over the country largely thanks to the contributions made by Miller," Kwasniewski stresses in his book. "Quite

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deliberately, he tried to present himself as the epitome of what was bad in the PZPR," says Deputy Janusz Rychocinski. This helped him to attract all those who feared implementation of the decommunization slogans, shouted out by the right wing more and more loudly, and who were unfavorably disposed toward market reforms.

"It may turn out to be impossible to return to free-market capitalism, and perhaps we should try to find a third road," he stated in an interview for TRYBUNA in August 1992.

The public image of Leszek Miller was slightly tarnished by a vacation in the Crimea, where he went in the company of Kwasniewski, when Yanayev was trying to carry out a coup d'etat. The trip to the Crimea reminded the people about the close relations of the former functionaries of the PZPR with the Soviet apparatus. However, the thing that harmed Miller's reputation most was the so-called issue of the Moscow money. The public prosecutor's office charged him with sending the Russians $600,000 to pay off part of the loan that the CPSU extended to the PZPR; the person who borrowed the money was Mieczyslaw Rakowski. On 29 May, which was the last day of the parliament's term, the Sejm suspended Miller's immunity. Finally, in December, after the 1993 elections, which brought victory to the left wing, the investigation of Miller was terminated.

The worse the opinions voiced about Miller, the more fervently he was defended by supporters of the left wing. Committees for Defending the Good Name of Leszek Miller were set up. He himself employed the strategy of defense through attack. At that time, the deputy chairman of the SdRP was probably a politician who was the least accepted by the post-Solidarity parties. Whenever he was about to take the floor in the Sejm, the deputies of the already fragmented camp ostentatiously left the room. At that time, Miller let himself be known as a politician who pays with aggression for aggression. During a discussion on the "Moscow money," he got involved in a polemic with a deputy of the Christian-National Union, saying: "Mr. Deputy, you are a representative of a Christian party. Can I call you 'brother'? Well, now, Brother Deputy, you have likened me to a thief who robs elderly ladies. When I listen to what you are saying and when I look at you, I am very glad that I come from a different ape."

At the same time, the deputy chairman of the SdRP was getting ahead of others in the "social" wing of the SLD. He was a difficult rival to deal with. During the Sejm debate on the Social and Economic Charter, submitted by the SLD, he put forward a number of postulates such as: "We endorse the policy of full employment. We see starvation pensions as a violation of the agreement on social security by the state." He went on to add: "I have not taken this handful of quotations from the SLD's Social and Economic Charter. They come from the election platform of the Solidarity Citizens' Committee, announced in 1989." Even though all of the SLD leaders were unanimous and kept saying that they would not agree to lowering the valorization of pensions to 91 percent, in comparison with Leszek Miller, the other SLD leaders—Aleksander Kwasniewski, Jozef Oleksy, Marek Borowski—could be termed "social liberals." Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz, following the scandal related to the CPSU's loan for the PZPR, went as far as to say that "the activity of Leszek Miller burdens the left wing."

Meanwhile, Miller's popularity, instead of waning, continued to rise. It was not harmed even by the scandalous book by Anastazja P. In the parliamentary elections of 1993, out of the 122,000 votes cast in the Lodz constituency, as many as 84,000 supported Miller, which was the fourth-best result in the country.

"...I realized that, as far as we were concerned, it was no use seeking sympathy and affection in the Warsaw salons. (...) I told my colleagues that our pass to existence on the political scene is not the salon, but social support. Hence, our success," Miller confessed in an interview for WPROST, when he was already minister of labor and social policy in the Pawlak cabinet.

The high office allowed Miller to change his image. "That image of a monster who devours children and has blood dripping from his fangs faded when it was faced with reality," Miller said about himself in an interview for ZYCIE WARSZAWY. He declared at the same time that he "would like to add the second course to Kuron's soup."

In November 1993, Miller submitted in the Sejm a draft amendment to the pension law; the draft amendment maintained the level of valorizing pensions at 91 percent of the average monthly salary in the country. Stanislaw Wisniewski, deputy chairman of the All-Polish Trade Unions Agreement, called this proposal "a continuation of the discrediting and shameful policy pursued by the previous government." However, unlike his predecessors in office, whose polices he continued to carry out, he went to great lengths to maintain the image of a "good" politician (for voters). When the coalition was working on the budget, he got engaged in a serious dispute with Marek Borowski, who was deputy prime minister and finance minister at that time; to satisfy the needs of his ministry, Miller demanded from him 40 trillion [old] zlotys more than was envisioned in the draft budget.

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Miller waged a similar war with Borowski's successor, Grzegorz Kolodko; he demanded from him approval for the draft of a new social security system, which, as the deputy prime minister believed, threatened to fuel inflation. At the same time, the "good" minister claimed, for example, that "if coal miners want to have privileges, they should pay for them."

He also leveled accusations at trade unions, saying that they were unable to adjust to the "needs of a market economy." "He is very flexible in dealing with certain issues. First, he was an advocate of the idea of taxing incomes derived from operations at the Stock Exchange. Then he quietly retreated, trying to look more attractive to the entrepreneurial base of his party. Moreover, when he left the post of labor minister, he was no longer a strong supporter of senior citizens," says Ryszard Bugaj.

"The politician who took greatest advantage of the scandal over the so-called Oleksy case was not, as many people tended to believe, Kwasniewski, but Leszek Miller," claims one of the opposition leaders. This could be easily seen during the SdRP national convention, which was to elect the party's chairman. The strongest regions of social democracy—Katowice, Mazowsze, and Lodz—definitely wanted Miller to take over as SdRP chairman. Leaders of the party, in turn, argued that the party should defend its jeopardized reputation and show its endorsement of Oleksy. Having confirmed his strong position in the party's primaries (he got most of the votes), Miller retreated and allowed Jozef Oleksy to lead the party. When he heard suspicions voiced that he had allegedly been a secret agent in the past, he dismissed them with sneers. "When Kwasniewski left the party, Miller turned out to be the greatest personality of the SLD. Recently he has become a guru for the young politicians of the SdRP," says Piechocinski.

"What distinguishes a real man is not the way he begins but the way he finishes," Miller said, but then, as the stage of implementing the difficult social security reform was drawing closer, he left the Ministry of Labor. Immediately after taking over the Office of the Council of Ministers [URM], he began forcing the draft of a territorial reform, which entailed decreasing the number of voivodships and introducing self-governing powiats [small administrative units]. In this way, he began to lure the self-government-oriented electorate of the Freedom Union and build his own empire.

He is no longer trying to conceal his power. When PSL politicians threatened to break up the coalition, he calmed them down with the threat that they would have to abandon 100 of the highest offices in the state. Because he could pull strings in the party apparatus, he forced Prime Minister Cimoszewicz to accept him.

Taking advantage of the waning popularity of Oleksy as the party's chairman, he held him in his hand. He distanced himself, which means that he also distanced the entire party, from President Kwasniewski—his excessive compliance with whatever was proposed by the church might not be welcomed by the SLD supporters. He also seized his chance and assumed the actual leadership of the SLD. He may count on the fact that, without solid support from the party structures, Kwasniewski probably cannot even dream of being reelected in the future.

Right now he is getting ready to assume the post of minister of administration and internal affairs. Subordinated to this minister will be the police, the powerful government administration (voivodes), construction supervision, issues regarding the municipal economy, land-use management, land surveying and cartography, land economy, and, finally, issues linked to relations of the state with churches and religious groups. He may also be appointed a deputy prime minister. In reality, taking advantage of Cimoszewicz's weakness and of the fact that Kwasniewski and Oleksy have lost some of their influence within the party, Miller is beginning to tower over them and to cast a shadow on the entire political scene. There are opinions that this is an ominous shadow.

"Everyone who makes a deal with him must bear in mind that, unless he has some great power to back him, sooner or later Miller will crush him. Aside from that, he cannot be reached whenever something unpopular must be said," Janusz Piechocinski believes. "As far as his statements are concerned, he cannot be easily caught out; he does not write pieces for publication," says Ryszard Bugaj. "The efficiency of a politician is beyond ethics and esthetics. In the use of social engineering, Miller remains flexible, cool, and cynical," claims Czeslaw Bielecki.

It seems that Miller's critics enumerate those of his features that, in fact, are characteristic of professional politicians. Dissembling, cynically using alternately aggression and evasion, flexibility in presenting his views, and even flattering ladies—these are the ABC's of professionals who fight for power. If this is true, the unique success of Leszek Miller boils down to the simple fact that such politicians still are few in number in Poland.

Poland: ROP Links Ex-Communists to Crime, Reduced Security

LD2408193396 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1700 GMT 24 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The Movement for the Reconstruction of Poland [ROP] has blamed the Polish Peasant

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Party-Democratic Left Alliance coalition for a steady deterioration of the state of citizens' security under its government. Antoni Macierewicz, a ROP activist and former interior minister, said at a news conference that mafia structures in Poland had their roots mainly in the former communist apparatus.

[Begin Macierewicz recording] To improve this state of affairs, one should carry out radical changes in the police force, remove from it former Security Service [SB] employees, and promote young officers who were educated after 1989. According to credible, although unofficial, data, more than 70 percent of crimes committed in such areas as trade in vehicles, radioactive materials, weapons, and drugs is in the hands of people linked to the former communist *nomenklatura* and the SB apparatus. This shows the current state of affairs and the degree of criminalization of Polish public life, which is still tolerated in Poland. [end recording]

ROP Chairman Jan Olszewski believes that the activity of security firms should be regulated as a matter of urgency. He described them as a private army of mafia bosses.

[Begin Olszewski recording] We have heard that, in a few days or a few weeks, the present leadership of the Ministry of Internal Affairs will be able to boast yet another success—that is, the submission to the Sejm of a draft law on controlling security firms. This draft law has been ready for four years now. One cannot understand why up until now this bill has not become part of the legislative procedure.

However, year after year, the expenditure earmarked for the police force is increased, the number of jobs is increased, but the state of security has not increased to any degree. In fact, year after year, the state of security has been deteriorating. The effectiveness of the police force has not improved at all. On the contrary, at least in some parts of the police force, there are more signs of demoralization. [end recording]

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Romania: Melescanu Calls Treaty With Hungary 'Important Step'

AU2608122796 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1000 GMT 26 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The Foreign Policy Commission of Romania's Senate met today with Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu to examine the provisions of the Romanian-Hungarian basic political treaty, whose text was recently finalized at the level of experts.

The head of the Romanian diplomacy said that the government examined and endorsed the text of this treaty, which Mr. Melescanu considers an important step in the process of historical reconciliation between Romania and Hungary. In the form established by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the document tackles Romanian-Hungarian cooperation in all spheres, including the observance of the rights of people belonging to the national minorities. Likewise, both sides confirm the lack of any territorial claims. According to the text read by Minister Melescanu, Romania and Hungary agree that Recommendation 1201 does not refer to collective rights and does not stipulate the right to autonomy on ethnic bases.

At the same time, the Romanian foreign minister expressly emphasized one of the ideas included in the treaty, namely the one referring to the cooperation between and the mutual support granted to each other by Romania and Hungary in the effort to be admitted to the Euro-Atlantic structures. He pointed out that the signing of the Romanian-Hungarian treaty will contribute to the joint adherence of the two countries to NATO and the EU and will also be an element of stability in the region. Mr. Teodor Melescanu also said that, after its ratification, the treaty will be valid for 10 years and, provided both sides agree, will be extended periodically.

Our correspondent Dan Preda recalls that, during the current round of political consultations on the basic Romanian-Hungarian treaty, a meeting will take place at Cotroceni Palace this week between President Ion Iliescu and the leaders of the main political parties.

Romania: Bucharest Denies Education Concession to Hungary

LD2508171196 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1000 GMT 25 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The Romanian minister of education [Liviu Maior] has said that the Hungarian-Romanian basic treaty, which is to be signed soon, does not make possible the organization of education on a nationality basis.

The minister's remarks to this effect were a reply to a statement made by Csaba Takacs, the executive chairman of the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania, a few days ago. Takacs said that in order to make the signing of the Hungarian-Romanian treaty possible the Romanian Government had promised to restore the Hungarian university in Cluj to the Hungarians.

The Romanian minister emphasized that it would contradict the Romanian Education Act and the Constitution.

Romania: PUNR Calls for Referendum on Treaty With Hungary

AU2608122896 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1000 GMT 26 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The Romanian National Unity Party [PUNR] favors the signing of the basic treaty with Hungary, provided it does not include Recommendation 1201 of the Council of Europe—a communique signed by PUNR President Gheorghe Funar reads. PUNR demands that this document should be completed with an article stipulating that the treaty becomes valid only after Romania and Hungary became NATO members. Likewise, PUNR insists on holding a referendum on 3 November, so as to see what the Romanian people think about, quote, replacing the provisions of the Romanian Constitution on civil rights and freedoms with the text from Recommendation 1201 of the Council of Europe, end of quote. As a function of the results of the national referendum, the PUNR maintains, quote, that Romania's new president will be entitled to sign or not to sign the Gyula Horn-Ion Iliescu pact, end of quote.

The communique also stresses that the PUNR invites the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [UDMR] to a dialogue on the subject and text of the treaty so as to know the UDMR's interests and claims and thus be able to support them within the government, in view of the fact that the UDMR speaks out most vehemently against the signing of the document.

Romania: UDMR Official Says Treaty Result of U.S. 'Pressure'

AU2308114396 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1008 GMT 23 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] In a statement made today, Csaba Takacs, UDMR [Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania] executive president, said that they will debate the final text of the Romanian-Hungarian treaty during the UDMR Council of Representatives and the UDMR Consultative Council sessions.

According to the ROMPRES press agency, the UDMR official assessed that the compromise reached by the

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governments of the two countries was intended to achieve diplomatic success and is the result of pressure having been exerted by the U.S. Congress and the NATO countries. This document, however, does not resolve the problems of the ethnic Hungarians, such as the restitution of church properties confiscated by the communist regime; nor does it specify the mechanisms by which the observation of the treaty stipulations is to be verified. Representatives of the ethnic Hungarians should also be included in the latter bodies, added Takacs.

The UDMR executive president expressed his satisfaction over the fact that the treaty provides for the right to set up a Hungarian-language education system starting from kindergarten up to university studies.

Romania: Tokes Issues Statement on Budapest's Minority Policy

96BA0374C Bucharest ROMANIAI MAGYAR SZO in Hungarian 20 Jun 96 p 2

[Statement by Bishop Laszlo Tokes]

[FBIS Translated Text] In its 10 June 1996 report, the MTI provided a verbatim quote from Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs's statement made on the same day, according to which "Hungary does not intend to sacrifice about 2 million Hungarians in the neighboring countries, just as Budapest does not want to 'sacrifice' 10.5 million residents of Hungary for the perceived interests of Hungarians in the neighborhood."

On 15 June, in a speech I delivered at the opening of the Fourth World Congress of Hungarians, I justifiably criticized the foreign minister's numerically erroneous statement, as well as the idea—to use RMDSZ [Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania—UDMR in Romanian] Chairman Bela Marko's words—that the foreign minister believes that "the interests of Hungary and the interests of Hungarians beyond the border can be set against each other" (MTI, 13 June). It is my view that Laszlo Kovacs is well inclined to "sacrifice" the entire Hungarian nation for the "perceived interests" of the Hungarian state.

Responding to the conclusions I drew, Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs said in his 16 June statement that I had used the erroneous information provided by the MTI as a "pretext" for a "coarse" and "unfounded attack" against his person.

First and foremost I must make it clear that the critique I voiced at the opening of the Fourth World Congress of Hungarians was based on the MTI's 10 June report. The referenced, falsely erroneous numerical data included in that report was not corrected by Foreign Minister Kovacs in his 13 June statement that was meant to correct his earlier statement (MTI), just as he did not withdraw the statement which sharply contrasted the interests of Hungarians in the homeland to those of Hungarians beyond the border. Considering all this, by no means could my critique be regarded as based on a "pretext" or as an "unfounded" attack.

Viewed from another angle, erring with regard to the number of Hungarians beyond the border constitutes a grave mistake; mistakes similar to this one have been made more than once by the foreign minister due to his ignorance regarding Hungarians beyond the border.

Beyond all this, however, I regard as the gravest mistake that in the course of the explanation provided by Laszlo Kovacs on Sunday (16 June), he attributed to me a statement which I never made, notably that "it would be tragic if Hungary joined the Euro-Atlantic Alliance before Romania did."

The statement attributed to me by the MTI and the Hungarian Radio—among other things—was corrected on 13 May by the MTI itself (see the attached), and in a 14 May letter addressed to the Radio News Editorial Office my office clarified that—and I quote—"under no circumstance does Laszlo Tokes regard it as tragic 'if Hungary joined the European organizations before Romania did'; on the contrary, it is his heartfelt wish that Hungary's integration continue successfully" (see the attached). Consequently, the foreign minister's statement, according to which I am one of those who "would like to slow down the integration" is fully unfounded and unwarranted.

I find it rather regrettable that Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs has so much difficulty hearing critical remarks about the policies followed by the Foreign Ministry or the government, so much so that he qualified the justified displeasure expressed after the words of Prime Minister Gyula Horn at the World Congress of Hungarians as "a violation of the most elementary rules of courtesy" (sic).

Aside from the confused and hard to untangle entanglement of the war of statements that has evolved, the Hungarian Government and the Foreign Ministry should take note at last that Hungarians beyond the border and their responsible representatives view the Hungarian Republic's policy development, as such policies relate to them, with increasing concern, and that they have difficulty with attributing the growing number of unfavorable signs and developments in those policies exclusively to misunderstandings and well-intentioned errors.

For Hungarians in the minority statements most recently made by HTMH [Office of Hungarians Beyond the

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Border] vice chairman Erika Torzsok in Subcarpathia [Ukraine's Transcarpathian region] are hard to understand, moreover unacceptable, and so are certain manifestations witnessed not too long ago during Slovak head of state Michal Kovac's visit to Budapest or, for that matter, certain statements made by Prime Minister Gyula Horn at the World Congress of Hungarians.

In my judgment, the public dignitaries of the Hungarian Government and the Foreign Ministry are making a rather big mistake if they disregard the growing dissatisfaction with their policies related to Hungarians beyond the border—the rumbling murmur of thousands at the World Congress of Hungarians, or if they reject this growing dissatisfaction in an almost insulting manner with non-comprehending impatience and unjustified self-confidence.

I agree with MVSZ [World Federation of Hungarians] Chairman Sandor Csoori, who reacted to the remarks delivered by Prime Minister Gyula Horn amid rumbles at the Congress by saying that "he rejects war." Criticism, on the other hand, does not mean "war."

Indeed, there is a need for "active" and "constructive" conduct in the relationship between the MVSZ, Hungarians beyond the border, and the Hungarian Government. A conduct which characterized National Assembly President Zoltan Gal's announcement on Saturday, in which he assured representatives of Hungarians beyond the border of support by the parliamentary committee engaged in the drafting of the constitution.

MC [expansion not given] 18 June 1996

Bishop Laszlo Tokes Honorary Chairman of the RMDSZ

Attachment 1

RMDSZ Leaders on Romania's Integration (Correction)

MTI reporter Denes Baracs reports: Nagyvarad [Oradea] / Marosvasarhely [Tirgu Mures] Monday 13 May 1996.

In making a statement to the MTI reporter, Bishop Laszlo Tokes, the honorary chairman of the RMDSZ said that a summary of his statement made on Sunday in Nagyvarad could be misunderstood. The summary concerns the European integration of Romania and Hungary, according to which in Tokes's view it would be tragic if Hungary succeeded in integrating with Europe (while Romania did not). Tokes stressed that in his view Hungary was ripe for integrating with Europe.

The bishop said that at the Sunday meeting he used the word tragic in regard to a possible situation in which Romania would fall behind Hungary, and would enter into a different phase of integration. In the bishop's view, this would "strike a double blow" at Hungarians in Romania.

RMDSZ Federation chairman Bela Marko expressed a similar view at the Nagyvarad meeting. On Monday he summarized to the MTI reporter the formula he applied as follows. Irrespective of the issue of simultaneity, "it would be dramatic, moreover tragic," if Hungary and Romania would fall into two different spheres of interest.

Attachment 2

To the News Editorial Office of the Hungarian Radio

Respected Editor!

In their 12 May and 13 May 1996 newscasts (Late Evening Chronicle, Morning Chronicle, etc.), both Radio Kossuth and Radio Bartok included a sentence as follows: "Laszlo Tokes expressed his view that it would be tragic from the standpoint of Hungarians in Romania if Hungary joined the European organizations before Romania did." This is not consistent with what Bishop Laszlo Tokes, the honorary chairman of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania said. The statement conveyed inaccurately by the MTI was further distorted by the radio news editor.

According to the words spoken by Bishop Laszlo Tokes, the honorary chairman of the RMDSZ, it would be tragic from the standpoint of Hungarians in Transylvania if Romania fell behind the successfully integrating countries, notably Hungary, and would thus move away from Europe into an alien sphere of interest.

Under no circumstance does Laszlo Tokes regard as tragic "... if Hungary joins the European organizations before Romania does," to the contrary, it is his heartfelt wish that Hungary's integration continue successfully.

Unfortunately, newscasts monitored today did not reflect the MTI's correction of this misunderstanding.

In due regard to the fact that Hungarian Radio is one of the largest, nonpartisan public-opinion-molding institutions, we find it necessary, because that comes naturally, that a correction be made in all of the broadcasts in which the above-mentioned information, inconsistent with the truth, was conveyed.

This is what we request of Mr./Ms. Editor.

Kind regards with respect,

Nagyvarad, 14 May 1996

Dr. Sandor Tamas, counsellor

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Romania: Firing of Hungarian Educators Denounced

96BA0374B Bucharest ROMANIAI MAGYAR SZO in Hungarian 14 Jun 96 p 1

[Article by B. Kovacs: "Firing of Principals, Public Outrage"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The education "brigade" dispatched to Haromszek [northern area of today's Covasna County] a few weeks ago by the ministry has sowed a wind and reaped a whirlwind. The record prepared at the time has not been made public for weeks. The fact that it imposed harsh sanctions has been revealed only a few days ago when the chief school superintendent signed a determination ordering the dismissal of five school principals and two school superintendents. As it turned out, the dismissals had been recommended by the ministerial committee headed by Vasile Braduta. Upon hearing news of the dismissals, the community of teachers demanded that the committee's report be made public and that it be made the subject of debate. The record indicates that the controllers blame county schools among other things for the children not knowing the Romanian language well enough, that the continuing education of teachers is inadequate, and that teachers graduating in Hungary find jobs in the county too easily (!). It is known that more than 70 percent of the county's school children pursue their studies in the Hungarian language, and of greatest concern to the [school] network is the still large number of untrained educators in minority schools, thanks to the past regime's policies that wasted culture. The report tops its findings by calling for the review of new names given to institutions after 1990, and for the appointment of Rumanian vice principals in educational facilities which also have functioning Rumanian branches.

The teachers' association also sought to be recognized in the debate concerning the report. It demanded that the chief school superintendent and his deputy justify their personnel decisions, and that they review their findings. One of the explanations for the general protest is that meetings to nominate principals are presently in progress throughout the county, and to top it off, a competitive examination has also been announced for the position of chief school superintendent. This process was disturbed by the crisis of confidence created by the recommendations of the record treated as a secret document, and by their method of implementation.

Romania: AC To Contest Iliescu's Right To Run for President

AU2608123396 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1000 GMT 26 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The Civic Alliance [AC] is determined to challenge Ion Iliescu's right to run for the presidency again, Ana Blandiana, acting president of this organization, said at a news conference today. She said that, since the AC is not a party, the contestations will be lodged individually by the members of the AC leadership and branches. At the same time, Ana Blandiana said that the AC has no seats on the electoral lists of the Romanian Democratic Convention [CDR], as it has been erroneously understood, but that it only plans to support certain figures proposed by the main CDR parties, whose activity is considered as decisive for the CDR's victory, such as: Nicolae Naica, Corneliu Turianu, Serban Radulescu-Zoner, Valerian Stan, Gheorghe Ceausescu, Traian Orban. [passage omitted]

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Slovenia: FM Kracun Calls Croatia-FRY Agreement 'Positive'

AU2308150996 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1330 GMT 23 Aug 96

[Interview with Slovene Foreign Minister Davorin Kracun by Igor Juric on 23 August; place not given—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Kracun] We believe that this is an important step toward the normalization of the situation in the Balkans. The signing of the agreement between Croatia and FRY falls within the general framework of the Dayton accord, and we know that the main objective of the Dayton accord is the restoration of peace in the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

As the problem of Bosnia-Herzegovina is not merely confined within its borders, but that the protagonists of the events in Bosnia-Herzegovina are also present in both of the above countries, we judge that the normalization of the relations between the two countries will contribute to peace and a continued positive development of events in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Juric] How will the agreement affect us, Slovenia?

[Kracun] I believe that this is positive for Slovenia. Slovenia is interested in having peace in its neighborhood. Slovenia could have traded with the countries such as Croatia, Bulgaria, or Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] a lot better if it could have relied on peace and normal communications in the area southeast of us. For that reason, I believe that this will chiefly be positive for Slovenia.

Slovenia: FRY-Croatia Accord Said Unlikely To Affect Succession

AU2308162796 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1330 GMT 23 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The consolidation of the relations between FRY and Croatia at the moment should not have any major effect on the future course of the negotiations [on the SFRY succession], Miran Mejak, chief of the Slovene negotiating team on succession, believes. Namely, the four successor states remain steadfast in their stance that only the Badinter Commission ruling, according to which the former joint state had disintegrated, can be the basis for this. The Croatian delegation contacted ours this month and reiterated this stance on that occasion. A new round of negotiations with the chief of the international succession negotiating group [Arthur Watts] on his compromise proposal will start in September. The Slovene side is not happy with his proposal because it believes that the Badinter Commission ruling has been rather watered down by it. When asked whether this means that Serbia perhaps imposed its own view of the succession issue upon Watts, Dr. Miran Mejak replied:

[Begin recording] No, not exactly. Sir Arthur Watts is trying to find a compromise and, in his quest for a compromise, he now is trying to compile a document that would move closer to the stance of the FRY delegation. This represents an attempt by the mediating negotiator who is otherwise a competent person, but an attempt that, the way it is envisaged—now I am again speaking independently of the position of our coordinating group—will not pass because it simply goes too far. Watts says in this paper that, regarding the state assets and the 1974 Constitution—which is very important, because the 1974 Constitution ruled that the assets of the Organization of the Associated Labor are no longer the state assets but, regardless of what word we might use, the assets allocated to the republics and the autonomous provinces... [changes thought] now if it is now written that this should be (?reexamined) and some new arguments laid on the table, whereby we should also acknowledge the Badinter arbitration ruling if possible, then this is, of course, [word indistinct]. For us, the Badinter ruling is the point of departure for everything; there cannot be any possibly or perhaps. [end recording]

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Federal

FRY: Statement on Normalization of Relations With Croatia

LD2308161296 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1514 GMT 23 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 23 Aug (TANJUG)—The Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs has issued a statement for the press regarding today's signing of an agreement on the normalization of relations between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Republic of Croatia.

Here is the statement:

"Federal Foreign Minister Milan Milutinovic and Dr. Mate Granic, Croatian deputy prime minister and foreign minister, signed an agreement on the normalization of relations between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Republic of Croatia in Belgrade today.

"With this agreement, the Republic of Croatia has accepted the state continuity of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. It has also been agreed that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Republic of Croatia are to resolve the issue of succession by consensus.

"The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Republic of Croatia have agreed to delineate their borders by mutual agreement, to resolve all disputes by peaceful means, and to refrain from using threats or force in line with the UN Charter.

"In this context, the two sides agree to solve the controversial territorial issue of Prevlaka within the framework of negotiations and in the spirit of the UN Charter and good-neighborly relations. This will contribute to the full security of a part of the FRY territory in the area of the Bay of Boka Kotorska and the part of the territory of Croatia in the area of the Dubrovnik region. Until a mutual agreement on Prevlaka is achieved, the existing security system will remain in force, with the United Nations monitoring.

"With this Agreement the two sides have undertaken to allow free and safe return of refugees and displaced persons to their places of residence or other places of their own free choice. The sides will take necessary measures for the complete safety of the returning persons, that is, they will help them to create necessary conditions for a normal life in safety. The two sides will ensure that those persons receive their possessions, and if it is not possible, to give fair compensation for the lost property.

"The agreement envisages the obligation of the two sides to allow the same legal protection to the properties of the physical and legal entities that have the citizenship of the other side, or the headquarters [of companies] on the other side as they do to the property of their citizens or legal entities.

"In connection with the acts committed concerning armed conflicts, a general amnesty will be proclaimed.

"The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Republic of Croatia have again, in this agreement, stressed the importance of the consistent and complete implementation of the Erdut Agreement on eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and Western Srem.

"The agreement guarantees to the Serbs and Montenegrins in the Republic of Croatia and Croats in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia all rights that are due to them on the basis of the international law.

"The two sides agreed to sign an agreement on social security within six months, thereby regulating issues relating to disability allowance, health care, and pensions, including the payment of pensions, as well as other agreements on resolving issues relating to work relations and status, of interest to citizens of both countries.

"A consent was reached to continue cooperation to normalize road, railway, air, and river transport, as well as the post and telecommunication links on the basis of the principles of reciprocity and good-neighborly relations. The signing of agreements on cooperation in the sphere of economy, science, education, the environment protection, and other issues of mutual interest will be initiated immediately. An agreement on cultural cooperation, including the maintenance and repair of cultural heritage, will also be signed.

"Two two [as received] countries will establish full diplomatic and consular relations, thereby upgrading their existing offices to the level of embassies and will exchange ambassadors within 15 days of the signing of the agreement," the federal Foreign Ministry said in a statement.

FRY: Croatian, FRY Foreign Ministers on Normalizing Ties

LD2308155296 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 23 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The Republic of Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia will normalize their relations. The agreement was signed after a four-hour meeting by Foreign Ministers Dr. Mate Granic and Milan Milutinovic. Andjelko Perincic reports from Zagreb:

[Perincic] Pointing out that the agreement is not only a document contributing to the normalization of relations

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between the two countries, but to European security, the Croatian minister said the following:

[Begin Granic recording] The agreement offers a framework for resolving numerous issues, primarily serious humanitarian issues, especially the problem of the missing, expelled, refugees, as well as social and other issues. But it equally looks to the future and creates a framework for future agreements on economic, scientific, and cultural cooperation. The agreement also offers a framework for resolving some other important issues, such as the issue of succession.

I believe that it will contribute to a considerable degree to the overall peace process in Bosnia-Herzegovina. I believe that every country will find it easier to join European institutions and the international financial institutions, according to its own choice. For Croatia, of course, it means joining European-Atlantic institutions.

But developing relations and maintain good-neighborly relations is one of the founding blocks of our policies. I believe that an important step toward peace has been made. [end recording]

[Perincic] The Yugoslav minister said the following in his statement:

[Begin Milutinovic recording] The agreement and this day are in a way historic for both countries because they represent a turning point in the relations between our two countries. We have always maintained, and still do, that Serbian-Croatian, that is, Yugoslav-Croatian relations are good, friendly, and meaningful relations and that they are the basis for all other relations in the region, both within the former Yugoslavia and in the Balkans.

I believe that today's agreement is a good framework for further talks and agreements. Of course, there is still a lot to be done. We have not yet resolved all issues. But the foundation is there, in this agreement, and I believe it was laid in a good way, with a good framework and on good principles. [end recording]

[Perincic] It should be added that at the beginning of his working visit to Belgrade Minister Granic held talks with leaders of the Democratic Alliance of Vojvodina Croats. It was said that the normalization of Yugoslav-Croatian relations has improved the position of the Croats in Yugoslavia.

FRY: Granic, Milutinovic Comment on Normalization Agreement

AU2308170796 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1604 GMT 23 Aug 96

[Statements by FRY Foreign Minister Milan Milutinovic and Croatian Foreign Minister Mate Granic following the signing of the agreement on normalization of relations between FRY and Croatia in Belgrade on 23 August—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Milutinovic] I would like to greet our guest, Dr. Mate Granic, and voice my particular satisfaction with the great efforts that we have invested since Dayton until now—actually, until the Athens meeting of Presidents Milosevic and Tudjman—to make this agreement come true. This agreement and this day are in a way historic for both countries, because they mark the turning point in the relations between our two countries. Namely, we have always believed and we still do that the Serbian-Croatian, that is, the Yugoslav-Croatian, relations are good, friendly, and meaningful, and the backbone of all relations in this region, both within the former Yugoslavia and the Balkans.

I believe that we created a sound framework for our future negotiations and agreements with today's agreement. Naturally, there is still plenty of work outstanding, and we did not resolve all issues; however, the basis was given here, I believe, in a good manner, with a good framework, and with good principles. I wish to underline this and also to say that after much effort we have reached the crucial moment in our overall relations today. We hope that a consistent implementation of this agreement, of its letter as well as its spirit, the way it is written, will be a great (?impetus) to our relations. If it is realized consistently and in good faith by both sides in the way it is written, then I believe that we have good perspectives for overall Yugoslav-Croatian relations. Now I give the word to Dr. Granic.

[Granic] Esteemed ladies and gentlemen! After the strenuous and persistent negotiations from Dayton via Athens, when the key progress was realized in the talks of Presidents Tudjman and Milosevic, until now, we have reached a significant agreement. The signing of this agreement today is definitely an important event for the Republic of Croatia and the FRY, for the Croatian, Serbian, and Monenegrin peoples, and for all citizens of these two countries. This agreement is the basis for peace and stability in the region, but it is equally important for peace and stability in Europe. It definitely contributes essentially to the European pact for stability and security, and represents a great contribution to it. This agreement creates the framework for the resolution of numerous issues, primarily grave humanitarian issues,

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which come as a result of the problem of the missing and expelled persons and refugees, social issues, and so forth. However, it equally looks to the future and creates a framework for further agreements on economic, scientific, and cultural cooperation, and so forth. This agreement also creates the framework for the resolution of some other important issues, such as the succession issue. I believe it will contribute considerably to the overall peace process in Bosnia-Herzegovina. I believe that each country by its own choice will find it easier to enter the European integrations, the international financial integrations. For Croatia this definitely means the Euro-Atlantic integrations. The development and maintenance of good-neighborly relations is also one of the foundation stones in our policy. I believe that an important step toward peace has been made.

FRY: DS Criticizes Accord With Croatia

AU2308174696 Belgrade BETA in Serbo-Croatian 1505 GMT 23 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 23 August (BETA)—Zoran Djindjic, leader of the Democratic Party, said today that the long-awaited agreement between FRY and Croatia was a result of pressure by the international community.

At the news conference Djindjic said that directly prior to the signing of the agreement, the Serbian side had demonstrated "a healthy measure of discretion" while Croatia "acted relaxed."

"The Croatian public was very well informed about the platform for the normalization of relations between FRY and Croatia, while the Serbian public learned about it through the Croatian media," Djindjic said, and voiced fear that the agreement would not resolve the most important issue—the civic, personal, and property rights of the Serbs expelled from Croatia.

The Democratic Party leader stressed that Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic was pursuing "a personal policy at the expense of the entire nation."

According to information held by the Democratic Party, "a gentlemen's agreement" was struck in Athens whereby Croatian President Franjo Tudjman would not raise the question of eastern Slavonia over the next year and would not occupy this territory, while in return Milosevic would not "raise" the issue of Prevlaka, Djindjic said.

FRY: Accord With Croatia Said To Be Important for Refugees

LD2408200596 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1959 GMT 24 Aug 96

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Aug 24 (TANJUG)—Borislav Mikelic, who chairs the Belgrade-based Committee on Refugee Affairs and Repatriation, said on Saturday that the Yugoslav-Croatian normalisation agreement was of the greatest importance to all peoples in former Yugoslav territory.

Speaking for Belgrade Radio Channel One, Mikelic described the signing of the agreement as a major success of the diplomacy of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Federation of Serbia and Montenegro) and of Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic.

Mikelic said he was sure that the agreement was welcomed by the refugees and displaced persons because it gave them realistic hope of repatriation a year after their dramatic displacement.

FRY: Authorities To Allow Bosnians in Transit To Vote

LD2508161696 Pale Srpska Radio-Televizija First Program Serb Radio in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 25 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The Berlin office of the Embassy of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has announced that Serbs or any other citizen of Bosnia-Herzegovina currently working or staying as a refugee in Germany and who is registered under the 1991 [Yugoslav] census will have the right to vote in the September elections. For many Serbs who have applied for postal voting but are yet to receive election papers or any response to their application the only way of ensuring that their vote is cast is to travel either to the Bosnian Serb Republic or the [Croat-Muslim] federation [of Bosnia-Herzegovina] personally and to cast their vote there, the announcement by the Embassy of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia says.

It is said in the announcement that persons staying in Germany as refugees and have valid passports of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia with the Bosnia-Herzegovina insignia or new Bosnia-Herzegovina passports, have the right to travel to the Serb Republic or the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Persons who wish to travel via the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to the Serb Republic or the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina to vote can do so with the above passports from 1 October 1996 [date as heard].

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If needed, they will be guaranteed medical or any other help.

Your vote is decisive for the future of the Serb Republic, the Berlin office of the Embassy of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia says.

FRY: Vice PM Sainovic Leaves for Sarajevo, Banja Luka

LD2608103096 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1018 GMT 26 Aug 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Aug. 26 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Vice Premier Nikola Sainovic left for Sarajevo on Monday morning to resume talks with Muslim-Croat federal representatives on a normalization of relations.

Negotiations on a normalization of relations, especially in the area of the economy, began on July 23-24 this year when Muslim-Croat Federal Vice President Ejup Ganic visited Belgrade.

A Yugoslav Government statement said talks would also cover the setting up of a regular air connection with Sarajevo and the biggest Bosnian Serb town of Banja Luka.

A group of 15 Yugoslav economists and businessmen, headed by Serbian Chamber of Commerce President Vlajko Stojiljkovic, is also going to Sarajevo.

The Yugoslav state-economic delegation is expected to visit Banja Luka on Monday afternoon for talks on economic cooperation, the government statement said.

Serbia

Serbia: Socialist Party Official Praises Accord With Croatia

LD2408200796 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1955 GMT 24 Aug 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Aug 24 (TANJUG)—Serbia's ruling Socialist Party official said in Belgrade on Saturday that the normalisation accord signed with Croatia on Friday was a great success of the principled policy of peace pursued by Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic.

Branislav Ivkovic, president of the party [passage indistinct] speaking for Belgrade Radio, stressed the importance of Croatia's acceptance of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia's continuity of former Yugoslavia.

Ivkovic said it was important hat the two sides had agreed to deal with questions of succession through negotiations, define borders through talks and deal with all questions in dispute by peaceful means.

Another important aspect of the agreement is that it offers guarantees of social security, he added.

"A large number of people who have found refuge in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Federation of Serbia and Montenegro) will now find it easier to solve their vital problems," Ivkovic said.

Serbia: Coalition Partner Welcomes Normalized Ties to Croatia

LD2508122296 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1046 GMT 25 Aug 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Aug. 25 (TANJUG)—Serbia's junior coalition partner, New Democracy, welcomed Sunday the normalization of relations between Yugoslavia and Croatia and urged cooperation with all 'new and old neighbours.'

New Democracy President Dusan Mihajlovic told TANJUG that good cooperation with the neighbouring countries was a condition for Yugoslavia's successful reintegration into international economic and political institutions.

Mihajlovic said cooperation with all neighbours was also a 'condition for participation in European integration processes' and 'must be part of a clearly-defined pro-European policy which should be pursued by Yugoslavia.'

He noted that the standstill in cooperation with Slovenia was a 'disagreement which will be eliminated in the mutual interest.'

The new democracy president said the resolution of the problem of Kosovo and Metohija, Serbia's southern province, was a process which would take quite a while and would not be easy and simple.

Mihajlovic expressed the opinion that things were moving in a positive direction in Kosovo and Metohija and said he hoped ethnic Albanians would again start participating in political, social and economic affairs.

The new democracy official urged ethnic Albanians to participate in the Nov. 3 local and federal elections.

Mihajlovic noted that his party was for accord between Serbs and ethnic Albanians but such a solution did not suit extremists on either side.

The Albanian minority in Kosovo and Metohija has all rights in keeping with international conventions but refuses to exercise them under the influence of separatists, who have been active in the province for decades.

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The separatists' ultimate goal is to have the province secede from Serbia and Yugoslavia and join neighbouring Albania.

Ethnic Albanians constitute a majority in Kosovo and Metohija.

Serbia: SPO Hails Normalization of Croatian-FRY Relations

AU2308190296 Belgrade BETA in Serbo-Croatian 1505 GMT 23 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 23 August (BETA)—Tomislav Jeremic, federal deputy of the Serbian Renewal Movement (SPO), in the name of his party today hailed the news on the normalization of relations between the FRY and Croatia.

"The news about the Agreement on Normalization of Relations was expected. The international community evidently decided to resolve the problem of the Balkans in one way or another, and this is some of the good news," Jeremic stated for BETA, in connection with today's signing of the Agreement on Normalization of Relations between FRY and Croatia.

In his assessment the agreement offers refugees the possibility of returning home and offers as well as the possibility of freeing the remaining prisoners in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia and establishing normal economic relations. "If the SPO could have influenced the political events in the country, the relations would not have been marred in the first place," Jeremic added.

Asked whether the federal parliament should be consulted on the Agreement on Normalization of Relations, Jeremic replied that "the federal parliament has not been consulted on anything over the past few years."

"The new federal parliament will not only be constituted but will actually do its job, just as in all other normal countries, which means that the Socialist Party of Serbia will not have the majority (in it)," Jeremic concluded.

Serbia: DSS Believes Accord With Croatia 'on Paper Only'

AU2308191496 Belgrade BETA in Serbo-Croatian 1505 GMT 23 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 23 August (BETA)—Democratic Party of Serbia [DSS] President Vojislav Kostunica assessed today that the mutual recognition, that is, the normalization of relations between FRY and Croatia "was as unavoidable as it was necessary," but that it was "merely verbal, that is, only confined to words."

"The agreement reached is on paper only because it leaves numerous issues in the Serbian-Croatian relations either open or it prevents their resolution through postponement," Kostunica said, as the DSS information service reports.

Kostunica said that the questions of several hundred thousand ethnically cleansed Serbs from Croatia, the countless cases of harassment and killings of the remaining Serbian population outside urban areas, the nonpassage of the general amnesty law, and the status of Prevlaka "remained and will remain" unresolved.

"The Croatian officials emphasized victoriously, justifiably so, that Belgrade would have to yield to Zagreb, that is, its senior sponsors in the international community. This is not a concession by Belgrade, but by Milosevic's regime, greatest 'achievement' of which consists of the unnecessary wars and the capitulation over the backs of his own people," Kostunica assessed.

Serbia: Bosnian Serb Refugees Urged To Vote for SMP

AU2308145696 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 23 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Borisav Mikelic, chairman of the Committee for the Protection of the Rights and Interests of Refugees and Returnees, has sent a message to refugees.

We all know very well that the national parties in Bosnia-Herzegovina, namely the Croatian Democratic Union [HDZ], the Party of Democratic Action [SDA], and the Serbian Democratic Party [SDS], owing to their mutual exclusiveness, evolved into nationalist, clerico-fascist parties and touched off a horrible civil war in Bosnia-Herzegovina with catastrophic consequences, Borisav Mikelic points out.

Therefore, Mikelic says, those parties cannot bring about anything good for the people. On the contrary, they can only produce a new war option. Those nationalist, clerico-fascist parties cannot sustain a real defeat in war, but only in peace. In the Serb Republic, we have a great opportunity right now to defeat, through a victory of the Alliance for Peace and Progress [SMP], not only the option of the SDS in the Serb Republic, which brought about many hardships even to the Serb people there, but also the SDA and HDZ options in the Muslim-Croat federation, Mikelic says.

In an SMP victory, that is, in the victory of that platform, there are no longer partners on the Serb side. Instead, there is a strong respect for that option's strong link with the FRY, which supports peace, but which is also

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ready to take up the defense against anybody who starts a war, Mikelic points out.

Now, therefore, we have all the progressive forces in the Serb Republic taking action. There is a considerable number of such forces there, and they are fed up with war. Now there is an opportunity for refugees and displaced persons to vote, not only for those currently living in FRY, but also those who are elsewhere. Now is the right moment for them to vote for the SMP, backed by the FRY's and President Milosevic's policy of peace, and create for themselves the conditions for the most secure return to their homes. Now is the right moment to do something, given the protection of the international community, while tomorrow, if they do not do it now, I doubt that there will be another opportunity for that in this region, reads the message conveyed by Borisav Mikelic, chairman of the Committee for the Protection of the Rights and Interests of Refugees and Returnees, to refugees through the Banja Luka NEZAVISNE NOVINE.

Montenegro

Montenegro: Bulatovic on Accord With Croatia, Prevlaka Issue

LD2508200996 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1907 GMT 25 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Podgorica, 25 Aug (TANJUG)—Momir Bulatovic, president of Montenegro, has welcomed the agreement on normalization of relations between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY] and the Republic of Croatia, particularly the standpoint as regards the resolution of the disputed issue of Prevlaka.

In a brief interview for Montenegrin TV, he said that the agreement would "complete the architecture of peace in the territory of former Yugoslavia."

He said he hopes for a beginning of new relations between the FRY and Croatia, and added that the agreement signed by Milutinovic and Granic will have "a beneficial effect on the peace process in Bosnia-Herzegovina."

Commenting on the way the agreement refers to Prevlaka, Bulatovic said that it is very important that the Croatian side has agreed to define Prevlaka as a disputed issue for the first time.

The recognition of Croatia by the FRY does not include Cape Ostra.

"We are now entering the stage in which we will be able to use arguments, historical and others, to prove that Prevlaka belongs to its natural hinterland—Boka Kotorska," Bulatovic said.

He stressed that Prevlaka now is neither Montenegrin nor Croatian, and recalled that the area is now within a specific security system.

Bulatovic said that he will visit the UN headquarters soon, where he will be able to present arguments in connection with Prevlaka.

He said that the Republic of Croatia will not be able to use the southern traffic corridor and other significant facilities until it carries out a just demarcation with Montenegro.

Bulatovic pointed out that "Montenegro has been at the forefront of the idea that dialogue is needed as way to resolve disputed issues." He recalled the initiative launched by the Montenegrin assembly as early as 1990, when dialogue on disputed issues was proposed to the Croatian Parliament.

President Bulatovic stressed that the Montenegrin role in formulating the Yugoslav standpoint on Prevlaka has been crucial, and "more than active" as regards the overall peace process and policy.

Montenegro: NS Believes FRY 'Loser' in FRY-Croatia Accord

AU2308192596 Belgrade BETA in Serbo-Croatian 1505 GMT 23 Aug 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Podgorica, 23 August (BETA)—Novak Kilibara, president of the People's Party [NS] of Montenegro, the strongest Montenegrin opposition party, assessed today that the establishment of diplomatic relations between FRY and Croatia "was a positive action that had to happen," but that "the Yugoslav side was the loser."

"In the history of politics, I could not find a single signatory of an important document who would be as big a loser as the Yugoslav side," Kilibarada said, commenting on the signing of the agreement on the normalization of relations between FRY and Croatia.

"Tudjman is celebrating a victory today because he knew how to pursue politics, while the Yugoslav side stands guilty of being an accomplice in causing a war, the exodus of the Serbs from Krajina, the loss of Prevlaka, Slavonija, Baranja, and western Srem, the unconstitutional situation in the country, and the expulsion of Yugoslavia from all international institutions," Kilibarda said.

He said that "in the democratic world, one cannot imagine that the current authorities would fail to consult the opposition prior to the passing of major political decisions."

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Montenegro: SDP Joins Opposition Coalition

LD2508180296 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1753 GMT 25 Aug 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Podgorica, Yugoslavia, Aug 25 (TANJUG)—The Montenegrin Social Democratic Party (SDP) said on Sunday that it was joining the coalition formed for the coming elections by Montenegro's opposition National Party and Liberal Alliance.

The two latter are the strongest parliamentary opposition parties in the Yugoslav Republic of Montenegro.

The parliamentary SDP main board explained it had opted for this move because of an 'undemocratic election law and the autocratic behaviour of the Democratic Party of Socialists,' the governing party in Montenegro.

The SDP leadership took the view that 'the coalition is not an option for long-term government, but the only possible mechanism of defence against the imposed election system and an essential precondition for a democratic transformation of Montenegro.'

Parliamentary and local elections in Montenegro have been called for Nov. 3.

Kosovo

Kosovo: Rugova Says Albanians Will Boycott FRY Elections

AU2308202996 Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT in English 23 Aug 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Speaking to reporters today in Prishtina [Pristina], Dr. Ibrahim Rugova, president of the Republic of Kosova, welcomed the adoption by the Sub-Commission of the UN Human Rights Commission in Geneva of a resolution on Kosova, which requires functioning of institutions and respect for the will of the Kosova people. Dr. Rugova also hailed a call on the part of Amnesty International for cessation of violence against Albanian women, noting that Albanians demand independence and a sovereign Kosova state.

President Rugova welcomed a request at the U.S. Republican Party Convention, which, in conformity with the resolution adopted by both Republicans and Democrats at the U.S. House of Representatives, urges for the appointment of a special U.S. envoy for Kosova.

Focusing on the current situation in Kosova, President Rugova said systematic repression against Albanians under the alleged pretext of searching for weapons has been continuing. Referring to dozens of cases of Serbian police interventions and raids in Albanian homes and institutions, President Rugova called for an immediate cessation of repression and for an increased international presence in Kosova, as a preventive measure.

"We underline that the best solution to the Kosova problem is an independent and neutral state, open to Albania and Serbia, with guarantees for the Serbs living in Kosova," President Rugova said and pointed out that an interim international civil administration would facilitate a negotiated solution to the Kosova issue.

Asked by a reporter if there was any concrete activity on the part of Carl Bildt's group for the settlement of specific problems in Kosova, Dr. Rugova said Carl Bildt's group is interested and involved in some specific issues that would bring about improvement and normalization of life in Kosova. We are in close contact with Bildt's group dealing with the former Yugoslavia and Kosova, President Rugova added.

Asked whether Albanians were going to participate in the Serbian local elections, Dr. Rugova said Albanians will not participate in those elections, as it is quite clear that Kosova has always had its own elections and, there is a new reality created over the past six years in Kosova. We have had our legitimate elections, President Rugova said, referring to the May 1992 Presidential and Parliamentary elections in Kosova.

Another reporter asked President Rugova to comment the normalization of relations between Serbia and Croatia. "This normalization is a positive step. We deem as positive any normalization in the spaces of the Balkans," President Rugova concluded.

Kosovo: Rugova Claims Serb Elections Give Albanians 'Nothing'

AU2508154596 Tirana ATA in English 1344 GMT 24 Aug 96

[Report by B. Jashari]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Prishtina, August 23 (ATA)—"Albanians in Kosova will not participate in the elections of Serbia and parliamentary federal elections of rump Yugoslavia which are due to be held on November 3, 1996," said President of the Republic of Kosova Ibrahim Rugova in a press conference in Prishtina [Pristina].

"We held our elections in the Republic of Kosova in May '92, a local government functions on its basis, and our legitimacy and legality comes from them. Because of the situation the new and free elections have been postponed a year. Nevertheless we will declare and conduct them as soon as possible and in the most appropriate time, as envisaged in the Constitution of the Republic of Kosova," said Rugova. He also pointed out that "the participation in the federal elections or those of Serbia will give nothing to Albanians." He reminded

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that "Kosova has always conducted its elections and created a new reality with the referendum for independence and its independent institutional organisation, after the Yugoslav disintegration, where Kosova was an equal constitutive unit of the Federation."

Rugova about the demands of some political parties to enter the occupied schools said that "we are always very attentive not to give rise to tension in the situation because even a peaceful manifestation in this situation may have its irregularities." Rugova added that "we demand even by the Serbian party to be careful and not hinder the teaching process of the Albanian school."

At the end of the press conference, he called on the Serbian citizens of Kosova not to provoke Albanian neighbours, because they will live together and should not disturb political situation in Kosova.

Vojvodina

Vojvodina: Hungarian Autonomy Demands Called Unacceptable

LD2308191196 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1829 GMT 23 Aug 96

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Subotica, Aug 23 (TANJUG)—The concept of autonomy of ethnic Hungarians in Vojvodina put forward by the Alliance of Vojvodina Hungarians is neither efficient nor realistic since it does not consider general interests, Vojvodina Secretary for Rights of National Minorities Pavel Domonji told TANJUG.

Domonji, who is also the vice-president of the Serbian Socialist Party in this northern province of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia, said the struggle for personal and especially territorial autonomy of ethnic Hungarians jeopardizes the stability of political relations.

'The Serbian Constitution does not call for the possibility of certain districts or (the existence of) national entities obtaining autonomy as a way to resolve minority issues, since it is conceived as a state in which every citizen has sovereignty,' said Domonji.

Domonji thinks that the claims of the Alliance of Vojvodina Hungarians for Hungarian autonomy in northern Backa (the north of Vojvodina) are exaggerated, and thus unacceptable, because of the mixed ethnic structure of the Vojvodina population.

The radicalism of the basic idea is badly masked in the document on Hungarian autonomy, which also contains some facts unknown so far in the Yugoslav constitutional-legal practice, said Domonji.

There is an impression that the document was written by experts who were not familiar with the Yugoslav legal practice and who introduced certain anachronistic facts and categories taken from other countries, in this case from the Republic of Hungary, said Domonji.

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